

PERSIANS, MEDES AND ELAMITES

Acculturation in the Neo-Elamite Period

Wouter Henkelman

*And how hear we every man in our own tongue,
wherein we were born?
Parthians, and Medes, and Elamites ...
(Acts 2:8-9)*

That the Iranian tribes, upon their arrival in south-western Iran, encountered both the vestiges as well as the living representatives of the age-old Elamite culture is hardly a novel observation. But though most scholars have generally assumed Elamite-Iranian contacts, a comprehensive “history of the Iranians and Elamites” still remains to be written. A detailed study that gives due attention to the extent, character and effect of these contacts should eventually illuminate the role of the Achaemenid Empire as heir to Elam.¹

The present paper does not aspire to give a complete discussion of the manifold and often very complicated issues that are involved. Instead, it will offer a survey of recent developments in the study of the Neo-Elamite period and a discussion of a selected number of “Elamo-Iranica.” The second part will focus on the rather elusive problem of Elamite-Median contacts. As I hope to demonstrate, the hypothesis of such Elamite-Median contacts is attractive but very hard to substantiate. The so-called “Acropole texts” from Susa have been taken to indicate contacts with Medes, but on closer inspection fail to do so. A second source that could be of some interest in this context is what has become known as “the Kalmākarra hoard.” At the present state of knowledge a discussion of this subject can only be preliminary as this collection of illegally “excavated” objects is highly problematic for various reasons and deserves a separate treatment.

1. I wish to thank the editors of the present volume for their kind offer to include this paper in the proceedings, though it was not read at the Padua conference. I am grateful to my friends and colleagues R. Beekes, M. Cuypers, A. Huisman, O. Muscarella, W. van Soldt and F. Vallat for their useful comments and suggestions. Throughout this article the following abbreviations will be used: Fort. = siglum for Fortification Texts now kept in the National Museum of Iran (Tehrān); PF = siglum for Persepolis Fortification texts in Hallock 1969; PFa = *idem* in Hallock 1978; PF-NN = siglum for unpublished Fortification text; PFS = seal used on the PF-tablets; PT 1963 = siglum for Persepolis Treasury texts in Cameron 1965; S = text from the “Acropole” archive (Susa) in Scheil 1907 and 1911 (no. 309).

1.1. The Neo-Elamite period

The Neo-Elamite period has received increasing attention in the last two decades. Two recent syntheses of Neo-Elamite history conveniently gather the insights gained by this renewed attention: the relevant chapter in Potts' richly documented monograph *The Archaeology of Elam* (Potts 1999, 259-309) and the dissertation by Waters (2000) that focuses mainly on Elamite-Mesopotamian contacts. It hardly needs to be stressed that many uncertainties remain and that we are in fact still over-dependent on Mesopotamian sources. Elamite sources from the period are not only scarce but also often notoriously difficult to interpret.² As a consequence, Neo-Elamite political history is almost exclusively known during the relatively short period of intensified military conflict with Assyria (roughly 740-640, a mere fifth of the NE period, *ca.* 1000-540/520). Yet, some progress has been made in recent years and some light has been shed on two issues that are of special interest in the present context: the establishment of a viable Elamite kingdom *after* the Assyrian attacks of the 640s and the continuous occupation of larger settlements in the Fārs-Khūzestān border area.

The destructive Assyrian campaigns of the 640s could easily suggest the idea of a complete collapse of the Elamite state with Susa, its royal city, reaching its *summa dies* in 647/646 BC. The powerful imagery and horrid detail of Assurbanipal's annals indeed greatly contribute to this idea. One may think of the brute sack and destruction of Susa or the personal drama of the Elamite king, Huban-haltāš III, described in an evocative passage:

[He] returned from the mountains, the place of his refuge and into Madaktu, the city which I had destroyed, devastated and plundered at the command of Assur and Ištar, he entered and took up his mournful abode (in that) place of desolation (Luckenbill 1927, II, § 815).

Doubts have been raised, however, on the completeness and long-term effect of the Assyrian destruction. The thought of a viable Elamite kingdom post-dating the Assyrian campaigns was already expressed in some older publications (notably Amiet 1967 and 1973), but it first gained momentum by de Miroschedji's work on the Neo-Elamite layers at Susa (de Miroschedji 1981a-b), which resulted in his division in a Neo-Elamite I (*ca.* 1000-725/700) and a Neo-Elamite II (*ca.* 725/700-520) period.³

2. For an overview of Neo-Elamite texts see Steve 1986, 21-23 and Waters 2000, 81-101.

3. This periodization (also used by Carter - Stolper 1984, 182) remains the most attractive one as it is directly based on Elamite material. The alternative is a tripartite division in NE I (1000-743), NE II (743-643) and NE III (643-540/520) which (with small variations) is advocated by *i.a.* Malbran-Labat 1995, 129f., Vallat 1996a, Potts 1999, 260-262 and Waters 2000, 3f. The tripartite division is based on historical grounds, but our knowledge of Neo-Elamite history largely depends on discontinuous, selective and at times biased Mesopotamian textual evidence. Thus, the beginning of NE II coincides with the first Neo-Elamite king attested in *Mesopotamian* sources, *i.e.* in an entry in Babylonian Chronicle I (dating to 743; Grayson 1975a, no. 1, col. I, 9-10). Yet, the chronicle does nowhere imply that he was the founder of a new dynasty and there is simply no extant historical chronicle that could have mentioned an earlier Neo-Elamite king. The date of 643 is based on Assyrian claims as to Elam's destruction. The alternative division at 653 (e.g. Waters *loc.cit.*) uses the date of the first "unambiguous" evidence in Mesopotamian sources of the contemporaneous rule of more than one "king" (a still poorly understood phenomenon that may not have the political implication sometimes deduced from it; see below). A third possibility is using the developments in Elamite syntax, morphology, palaeography and syllabary, as Steve proposed (1992, 21-23). In the absence of continuous lines of documents from a single type and provenance this method cannot be very precise, nor does it allow for exact dates (cf. Stolper 1987-90, 279). In fact, Steve also used Mesopotamian sources to add absolute dates to his relative chronology of texts.

These and subsequent publications by de Miroschedji, Vallat, Steve and others established the continuity of the material culture and epigraphic tradition throughout the second Neo-Elamite period.⁴ Moreover, there appears to be ample evidence for a Susa-based Neo-Elamite monarchy post-dating the Assyrian campaigns. The Acropole texts from Susa (dated between the end-seventh and the mid-sixth century; see below II.2) attest to extensive economic contacts between the local palace and various localities and groups, even outside Khūzestān. One or several kings are mentioned in the texts (see Waters 2000, 95f. with references). In the material culture we find high quality objects that certainly answer to the label “royal art.” Apart from a series of glyptic masterpieces (some with royal inscriptions), such objects as the stele of Atta-hamiti-Inšušinak, a series of delicate portrait heads and other glazed wall-decorations should be mentioned.⁵

A few Mesopotamian sources seem to confirm a post-Assyrian Elamite revival.⁶ More important are the three Elamite uprisings that are mentioned in Darius’ Bīsotūn inscription. The rebel leaders were:

- 1) Haššina/Āčina the Elamite, son of Ukbaturranma/Upadarma who called himself king of the Elamites (DB I §16);
- 2) Martiya the son of Zinzakriš/Ciⁿcaxriš who called himself Imanuš/Ummanuš, king of the Elamites (DB II §22);
- 3) Athamaita the leader (*mathišta*) of the Elamites (DB V §71).

Ummanuš and *Athamaita* (an abbreviated version of Atta-hamiti-[Inšušinak]) are Elamite names that were previously used by kings who are now both dated to the post-Assyrian period. It seems likely that *Ummanuš* and *Athamaita* were still sounding names for the Elamites and therefore used to gather support for the revolt (cf. de Miroschedji 1982, 62f.). The fact that Elam had three subsequent uprisings, the last one requiring a full Persian army led by Gobryas (and deemed worthy of being included in the additional 5th column of DB), attests to the success of the appeal to nationalistic sentiments. At

4. See esp. de Miroschedji 1982; 1985; 1990a; Steve 1986; 1992, 22f.; Vallat 1984, 7-9; 1996a; Amiet 1988, 116-119; 1992 (the latter presents the Neo Elamite and Achaemenid periods within a “longue durée” vision of Elamite history); Carter - Stolper 1984, 53f.; Boucharlat 1994; Potts 1999, 288-307; Waters 2000, 81-101.

5. Glyptic: Amiet 1973; de Miroschedji 1982; Vallat 1984; J. Aruz in Harper - Aruz - Tallon 1994, 213f.; Potts 1999, 295-301. Glazed wall-knob from Hallutaš-Inšušinak (if re-dated cf. Vallat 1996a); Steve 1987, 50f. Other wall-decorations: Amiet 1967; S. Heim in Harper - Aruz - Tallon 1994, 210. Stele of Atta-hamiti-Inšušinak (re-dated by Vallat 1996a); Pézard 1924; Calmeyer 1976, 57f.; Muscarella in Harper - Aruz - Tallon 1994, 198f. Amiet (1971, 8f.) discusses several links between Iranian and Elamite material culture (*i.a.* grape-shaped pendants, metal vessels and hairstyle). See generally Amiet 1966, 466ff. who presents a number of NE objects, several of which may post-date the Assyrian campaigns (nos. 370, 381-382, 432 etc.). Some objects (e.g. nos. 382, 408) already herald Achaemenid art in a very striking way (compare Calmeyer 1973, 149-151 on the Īzeh reliefs).

6. The Nabopolassar chronicle states that Nabopolassar returned divine statues to Susa (Grayson 1975a, no. 2, 16-17), suggesting that the Babylonian ruler considered the authority present in that city a possible ally. Another chronicle has a possible reference to a clash between Babylonian and Elamite (?) forces on the banks of the Tigris in 596, but the historical context is unclear (Grayson 1975a, no. 5, rev. 16-20). Note also that there is no convincing evidence supporting the idea of a temporal Babylonian occupation of Susa. See Carter - Stolper 1984, 53f., Zawadzki 1988a, 141-143 and Potts 1999, 289-294.

the same time it is intriguing that the other names within the group of Elamite rebel leaders apparently are all Iranian, which strongly suggests Elamite-Iranian integration.⁷

The territorial extent of the last Neo-Elamite state remains uncertain, but there is no reason to assume that Khūzestān was in a state of complete political fragmentation, despite the existence of many local rulers with varying authority (like Hanni of Aiapir). From the Acropole texts from Susa it appears that large parts of Khūzestān remained under central control. The few royal inscriptions now believed to post-date the Assyrian campaigns (see Vallat 1996a; Waters 2000, 81-89) are hard to interpret, but do not seem to contradict the assumption of one centrally-governed Neo-Elamite state. De Miroschedji (1986) posed the hypothesis of a tripartite monarchy with semi-independent rulers in Susa, Madaktu and Hidali in the period before the Assyrian campaigns. This hypothesis finds no support in the Elamite evidence, however, and the Mesopotamian sources do always seem to recognize one single paramount ruler (“king of Elam”), even if an important city like Hidali had its own local ruler (“king of Hidali”).⁸ There is no compelling reason to assume that the situation was much different in the post-Assyrian period.

Beyond Khūzestān the influence of the Neo-Elamite rulers may have been in steady decline, although the case of the contingents from (*i.a.*) Parsuaš⁹ and Anšan fighting under the banner of the Elamite king at the battle of Ḫalule (691) suggests that they still had some kind of authority. Yet, this argument loses much of its weight if these auxiliary forces were mercenaries. The Neo-Elamite (additions to the) rock-reliefs at Naqš-e Rostam and Kūrangūn do not necessarily attest to a direct influence from the Neo-Elamite kingdom in Fārs. It is equally possible that the remaining Elamite population of the highland was responsible for the apparent cultic continuity at these sites (cf. below). As for the regions north of Khūzestān, a certain political and cultural influence is manifest (see below II.1 and esp. fn. 56).

7. *Upadarma* (Kent 1953, 176) and *Martiya* (Skalmowski 1993, 75-77) are without doubt Iranian. *Ci'caxriš* certainly looks Iranian, though the etymology is uncertain (Borger - Hinz 1984, 430); the same holds true for *Haššina* / *Āčina* (*ibid.* 427; but cf. Zadok 1976b, 213). Note that the Bab. and Elam. versions, unlike the OP version, identify *Haššina*/*Āčina* as an Elamite. For the name *Atta-hamiti-Inšušinak* and its abbreviated forms see Zadok 1984a, 7. The king by this name, known from a Neo-Elamite stele (EKI 86-87), is hardly identical to (one of) the Attametu(s) of the Assyrian annals (not named as a king), but is likely to have ruled in the post-Assyrian period (Vallat 1996a). Waters (2000, 85-87) briefly considers the interesting possibility that the king from the stele is actually identical to the Athamaita from Bīsotūn. A king *Ummanunu* is mentioned in Acropole text S 165, 4-5 (cf. Vallat 1984, 13 fn. 42 and 1996a, 389; Waters 2000, 95). Interestingly, *Martiya*, who called himself *Ummanuš*, is said to have come from the town Kuganakā in Fārs (compare Briant 1996, 132f.).

8. See the critical remarks by Quintana (1996) and the discussion by Henkelman (*in press*). Stolper (1986, 239) rightly hesitated to put much weight on the discrepancy in Neo-Babylonian dates to the reign of the Elamite king Hallušu.

9. I refrain from a discussion of the much debated Parsua/Parsu(m)aš-problem, apart from noting that the label “Parsua” may perhaps refer to groups *including* Iranians, but cannot with any certainty be taken to refer always to “Iranians” in an exclusive way (note that an Iranian origin of the name is uncertain). Given this uncertainty and the problems surrounding the existence of two areas Parsua/Parsu(m)aš (see most recently Rollinger 1999; Potts 1999, 287-289; Zadok 2001a), I think we should in any case avoid uncritically identifying “Parsua” as “Persians” (as Waters 1999 does; cf. Potts 1999, 272). In my opinion, it would be historically more precise if we reserve “Persians” for the Achaemenid period. Perhaps we can, with some caution, render the *Parsip* in the Acropole texts from the sixth century as “Persians” (cf. below II.2.6). But to suggest that “Persians” joined the battle of Ḫalule in 691 would seem to overlook the ongoing internal developments in Fārs where Elamite-Iranian integration seems to have played a prominent role. Perhaps this process was indeed of such a consequence that the “Persian” population *resulted* from it, *i.e.* de Miroschedji’s “éthnogenèse des Perses” (1985, 295; cf. below).

The existence of a post-Assyrian Elamite monarchy has an obvious relevance for the character of Elamite-Iranian acculturation. Also of considerable importance is the continuous occupation of larger settlements in the Fārs-Khūzestān border area. In an important study Carter discussed the sites in the Rām Hormoz plain, notably the relatively large sites of Tepe Bormī and Tall-e Gazīr, that were continuously occupied throughout the late Middle-Elamite, Neo-Elamite and Achaemenid periods (Carter 1994; cf. de Miroschedji 1990a, 57). As Carter rightly surmised, these settlements are likely to have been an important factor in the transmission of such urban traditions as (royal) dress, glyptic art and script (cf. below I.2) from the Elamite lowlands to the Iranians in Fārs. The existence of this sedentary zone gains weight in view of the absence of comparable settlements in Fārs where larger sites (particularly Anšan/ Tall-e Malyān) dwindled and rapidly became deserted from the second half of the second millennium onwards (Sumner 1986; de Miroschedji 1985; 1990a).

Apart from the Rām Hormoz plain, a second region, that of Behbahān, may have been of considerable significance. Although their exact locations remain uncertain, the important cities of Hidali and Huhnur should be situated here.¹⁰ Mesopotamian sources mention both cities as strategic strongholds and Hidali as a royal city. Hidali appears in the Acropole texts, as does Huhnur. The latter is also mentioned by Atta-hamiti-Inšušinak (EKI 88). In the Achaemenid period Hidali remained an important town, mentioned frequently as a stop on the Persepolis-Susa road, but also as a centre of administration and production, in the Fortification archive. Huhnur appears as well (as Hunar or Unar). The chance discovery in 1982 of a rich Neo-Elamite period tomb at Arġān, about 10 km to the north of Behbahān, confirmed the importance of the region. The tomb chamber was constructed of stone slabs and contained a u-shaped bronze coffin. The funerary deposits included a ceremonial (?) gold object (a “ring”) with a chased design of antithetical winged lions, an elaborate bronze stand (perhaps a lamp), a large bowl with incised decoration, 48 gold rosette-shaped “buttons” (*i.e.* sewing-on plaques), textile fragments (cf. below fn. 37), a silver rod, an iron sword, a lion-headed beaker and several bronze and silver vessels.¹¹ The first three of these objects have an inscription that reads “Kidin-Hutran the son of

10. For occurrences of Hidali in Elamite sources see Vallat (1993, 96f.). Hinz (1961, 250f.) proposed to identify Behbahān as Hidali, but this view was opposed by Hansman (1972, 108 fn. 54). The recent *Helsinki Atlas* (Parpola - Porter 2001) confidently equates Hidali with modern Arġān (the location is marked as “certain”), probably on the basis of the Arġān tomb (see below). The identification remains likely at best, however, as long as Neo-Elamite occupation of the site is not firmly established. An alternative location was proposed by M.A. Arfaee (discussed by Imanpour 1998, 58, 155). In any case Hidali was situated in the Behbahān area and somewhere along the route linking Anšan/Persepolis with Susa. Carter (1994, 75) points to S 238 in which an individual with the Iranian (?) name Išpugurda, from the *Zampegir*- people (elsewhere labelled as *Parsip*) received a *tukli* at Hidali. The mentioning of Parsumaš in the context of Hidali in two Neo-Assyrian letters (ABL 961 and 1309; discussed by Waters 1999, 103f.) is certainly tantalising, but as the contexts are obscure it is hard to use these texts as evidence (compare fn. 9 above). Cf. also the Neo-Babylonian text (mentioning an “assembly of Babylonians”) written at Hidali (Leichty 1983). Note, moreover, the three (late-)Achaemenid rock tombs to the southeast of Behbahān (Kleiss 1978). As for Huhnur (that was not far from Hidali), see the discussion by Duchène (1986), who equated it with Arġān, and the overview of occurrences of the name by Vallat (1993, 101f.).

11. On the objects see generally Alizadeh 1985 (referring to older publications in Persian). On the large bowl see Majidzadeh (1992; cf. Bleibtreu 1999c, 4f.) and below fn. 15. On the bronze stand see Bleibtreu (2000d) and Jamzadeh 1996, 115. The National Museum of Iran is currently planning a permanent display of the Arġān findings. I am indebted to Mrs. Z. Jafar Mohammadi (National Museum of Iran - Central Treasury) for showing me the objects.

Kurluš.”¹² Originally, the tomb was dated to the 8th century (Alizadeh 1985; Majidzadeh 1992), but palaeographic evidence from the inscriptions suggests otherwise.¹³ Vallat (1984) convincingly dated them to the last century of the Neo-Elamite period, based on a comparison with *i.a.* the Acropole texts. Steve included the inscription in his NE III category, which he dates to *ca.* 605-539 (Steve 1986, 21). These low dates are now finding increasing support from archaeologists.¹⁴

The inventory of the Arġān tomb shows an “eclectic mixture of stylistic traditions: Babylonian, Assyrian, Iranian, Elamite and Syrian” (Carter 1994, 76). This holds true not only for the inventory as a whole, but also for individual objects, notably the large bowl discussed by Majidzadeh (1992).¹⁵ The inscription is in line with this mixed character: the script, the language and the name of Kidin-Hutran¹⁶ are perfectly Elamite, but *Kurluš* may have been of non-Elamite origin as Vallat has argued. *Kurluš* is a rare name: apart from the Arġān inscription it occurs in a Neo-Elamite seal inscription (“Parsirra son of Kurluš”; see Amiet 1973, 29 and compare Boucharlat 1994, 222) and in the Acropole texts where a *Kurluš* is called an “Unsakian” (^{BE}*un-sa-ak-pè-ra*). Both contexts possibly indicate a non-Elamite background.¹⁷ Thus the rich inventory of the Arġān tomb not only suggests the importance of the Behbahān region, but it also confirms the acculturation processes that we would expect to be active in this period and this particular area.

The Fārs-Khūzestān border area was of prime importance because of the continuous occupation of larger settlements, providing a stage for the transfer of urban traditions. But Elamite-Iranian acculturation was obviously not limited to this area. In central Fārs larger settlements, notably the Elamite centre at Anšan/Tall-e Malyān, dwindled in the course of the second millennium. Pastoralism probably became the dominant strategy, hence the dearth of archaeological remains. Yet, throughout the Neo-Elamite period occupation continued in a limited number of smaller settlements, probably in the context of village-based pastoralism. A recent re-evaluation of the ceramic assemblages of these sites by

12. ^{Diš}*ki-din hu-ut-ra-an DUMU kur-lu-iš-na*. The three inscriptions are palaeographically identical. The ones on the bronze stand and the large bowl have signs that are coloured white.
13. The tomb also contained a small clay tablet (apparently with a seal impression) inscribed in Elamite. The unpublished tablet has thus far defied attempts to decipher it (pers. comm. A.M. Arfaee, Tehrān). The small but informative pamphlet entitled *The Treasure of Arjan* (in Persian and English), published by the National Museum of Iran at the occasion of a temporal exhibition on the tomb (1999), includes images of the tablet and a number of other objects.
14. See Vallat (1987) for critical remarks on Alizadeh’s dating. Majidzadeh’s dating pertains to the “Phoenician” bowl only. The date of 600 or slightly later was first proposed by Boehmer (1989, 142f.). A similar date is advocated by de Miroshedji (1990a, 55), Carter (1994, 72f.), Curtis (1995, 21f.; 2000b, 204) and Stronach (1997b, 41). Notably the style of the antithetical winged lions on the gold object and the kneeling bull protomes at the base of the bronze stand point to the later date. See also Potts 1999, 303-306.
15. Majidzadeh suggested that the bowl was made by a Phoenician master in Assyria. For the contacts between Iran and the eastern Mediterranean in this period see Briant 1984a, 89-92. Unfortunately, the important study by J. Alvarez-Mon (in press) on the Arġān bowl was brought to my attention too late to include its findings in the present survey. In Alvarez’s study, the five registers of the Arġān bowl are discussed as the expression of a specific *Elamite* ideology. Certain elements such as the prince elected standing behind the throne of a king, a grand marshal making reverence to the king, a tribute procession with various animals, etc. render the Arġān bowl a highly important precursor of Achaemeind art.
16. *Kidin-Hutran* was used as royal name by various Middle-Elamite kings; see Vallat 1998a, 308.
17. *Parsirra* does not automatically indicate that the holder of this name was a “Persian” or even Iranian, but the name seems non-Elamite. *Kurluš* is mentioned in six Acropole texts (S 7, 2; 16, 4; 50, 5; 127, 3; 191, 9 and 276, 6). Texts 7 and 16 identify him as *unsakpera*; in 127 he seems to be included in a group of messengers of the Unsak-people. On the tribe (?) of the Unsak-people see Vallat 1992b; 2002; and below II.3. *Kurluš* also appears in the Achaemenid period, in the Fortification texts (PF 98; PF-NN 392; 1764; Fort. 6770). On the name see Zadok 1984a, 23, 26.

Sumner (1994) suggests that the Iranian newcomers gradually settled in existing Elamite villages. This attractive idea may, however, turn out to be problematic given the high date it requires for the arrival of the Iranians.¹⁸ Yet, even if the Iranians arrived at a later date, it is likely that they encountered a (semi-)pastoralist Elamite population in Fārs. Extensive contacts and even integration almost become an *a priori* under such circumstances. The more recent history of the pastoralist groups of southern Iran abounds in the repeated formation of new confederacies with mixed ethnolinguistic backgrounds.¹⁹ We may likewise envisage the formation of mixed Elamite-Iranian groups in first millennium Fārs, perhaps even on such a scale that the process may be defined, to speak with de Miroschedji (1985, 295), as the “*éthnogenèse des Perses*.”²⁰

I.2 Elamo-Iranica

A growing number of studies focus on Elamite-Persian continuities. Such continuities existed on many levels. One may e.g. think of the importance of the Elamite language in the Achaemenid empire, as appears from its use in the Persepolis archives²¹ and from the original Bīsotūn inscription, that started with only an Elamite version as the German research team has shown (see e.g. Luschey 1990, 292). The question as to the language of the original *composition* (the Ur-Text of Bīsotūn) will probably remain debated, though Gershevitch's comments (1987) on the great stylistic variety of the Elamite version might be an important indication and at least suggests the continuity of an Elamite literary tradition.²² There are many links between the administrative terminology of the Acropole tablets from Neo-Elamite Susa and the Persepolis archives, again suggesting a continuous tradition. The same holds true for the convention of writing in the length of a (small) tablet, contrary to Mesopotamian custom (cf. Lambert 1977, 221). The Neo-Elamite building inscriptions were normally applied with a stamp on glazed bricks. In Susa the Achaemenids also used glazed bricks and stamps in a num-

18. Sumner identifies the Šogā and Taimūrān wares as Iranian and the Qal'eh ware as Elamite. He tentatively linked Šogā and Qal'eh wares to more or less settled pastoralists, Taimūrān to mobile pastoralists. Sumner assumes an Iranian arrival at some time in the mid-second millennium, coinciding with the first appearance of Šogā ware. Furthermore, he re-dates the end of the Šogā-Taimūrān wares to 800-700 in order to lessen the gap between these and the later Achaemenid ceramics. Compare also Imanpour 1998, 87-89, 153f. For a different view see e.g. Stronach 1997b, 36f. In this context we may also refer to Kantor's remarks on Čogā Miš in the first millennium, suggesting that the site bears witness to the “transition from the Late Elamite ceramic tradition” to the “Iron III tradition ... presumably introduced by Iranians” (Delougaz - Kantor 1996, 18). Earlier, Young (1978) had already called attention to the closeness of the Čogā Miš materials and the Iron Age III tradition from the Zagros.

19. See e.g. Barth's study (1961) on the Basseri tribe that contained segments of Iranian, Arab and Turk origin. Compare also the remarks by Beck (1990, 187-198) on the distinction between ethnic and tribal identity and the formation of tribes from diverse ethnolinguistic groups in Iran.

20. Similarly: Briant 1996, 37f. Compare also Rollinger (1999, 123-127) on the possibilities and implications of “das Modell einer persische Ethnogenese in Fārs.”

21. Note that Elamite is also the most common language for inscriptions on seals used in the PF archive. See Root (1997, 232f.) on heroic encounter seals: 17 of the 29 legible inscriptions are in Elamite, against 8 in Aramaic, 2 trilingual (OP - Elam. - Bab.), 1 in Babylonian and 1 in Greek.

22. See also Schmitt (1998b, 160-163), who discusses a case of Elamite influence on the Old-Persian text (although he supports the idea of an Old-Persian Ur-Text). The origin of Old-Persian cuneiform script is probably even more controversial and I gladly refrain from entering the debate. I merely refer to d'Erme (1990) who argues for close “affinità stilistiche” between Old-Persian and Elamite (rather than Neo-Babylonian) cuneiform writing, suggestive of the “paternità elamita della scrittura antico-persiana.” Cf. De Blois (1994, 14f.) on the notation of nasalized vowels in both languages.

ber of cases.²³ A point that needs further study is the notable a-historical content of the majority of Neo-Elamite inscriptions, which (at least in certain cases) could be compared to the character of most Achaemenid royal inscriptions.²⁴ Finally, a recent study by Vallat (2000b) convincingly shows that a triad “pays, clergé, armée/officiers” occurs in Middle- and Neo-Elamite royal inscriptions, which certainly may be compared to a similar series in Achaemenid ideology (DPd).²⁵

The Persepolis Fortification archive is by far the richest source for Elamite-Iranian acculturation. We find people with both Elamite and Iranian names holding all kinds of positions in the Persepolis economy. Also suggestive of integration is the fact that the designation “Elamite” is used very rarely (as opposed to “Lydian,” “Lycian,” “Babylonian,” “Cappadocian,” “Egyptian” etc.), notwithstanding the fact that many people of Elamite origin fell under the archive’s scope. Though the label “Elamite” remained in use in the royal inscriptions, the writers of the PF archive did not single out the Elamites as a separate population. Apparently they were not felt to be “separate” or even “foreign,” but primarily as inhabitants of the Persian homeland. A similar situation occurs on the level of religion, again a subject for which the Persepolis archives are highly relevant. Some scholars, notably H. Koch, have defended the position that the archive attests to an official and purely Iranian state religion *vs.* a “tolerated” worship of Elamite gods by the residual native population.²⁶ Yet, studying the archive without such preconceived notions on separate and “pure” religions, quickly reveals the contrary: Elamite and Iranian gods are being worshipped side by side and the individuals carrying out the sacrifices may have Elamite or Iranian names. The Fortification archive dates to 509-494 BC, but it reflects processes of religious acculturation that must have started at least a century earlier and probably covered much of the Neo-Elamite period.

In the material culture various continuities are visible. Some cases, such as the iconographic theme of a seated deity or ruler holding a flower with two buds (Porada 1986; cf. Garrison 1991 fig. 16), represent traditions that always were at home in (southern) Iran. Another case of such an intra-Iranian continuity may be found in the long plaits worn by women on Achaemenid seals, reminiscent of the long plaits of the worshippers on the Neo-Elamite rock-reliefs of Kūl-e Farah III-IV and Kūrangūn

23. Glazed bricks: DSe, DSf, DSm and DSaa (see Steve 1974, 137, 168; Kent 1953, 110f.); stamps: DSk and DSI (Kent *loc. cit.*). On the Neo-Elamite bricks see Malbran-Labat 1995, 141, 158, 163.

24. Neo-Elamite inscriptions generally keep silent on military actions (except for the stele of Atta-hamiti-Inšušinak). An inscription of Tepti-Humban-Inšušinak (EKI 80; see also EKI 79) names two lands (*ha-al*^{MES}) that the Elamites have overcome and annexed or forced to pay tribute. The inhabitants of these lands are the *ba-la-hu-te-ip-pè* and the *la-al-la-ri-ip-pè*. The former is interpreted as “Méchants(?)”/“Bösewichter,” the latter as “Ennemis” / “Friendsbrecher” by Malbran-Labat (1995, 140) and the EIW respectively. After this the inscription proceeds directly to the building of a temple for Pinigir. Though actual victories may be described here (so König 1965, 170 fn. 16; Malbran-Labat *loc. cit.*), the rather vague “names” of the enemies suggest otherwise. A comparison with XPh, with its similarly vague reference to “a rebellion,” the *daiva-dāna*, and the piety of Xerxes seems promising. On the a-historical character of XPh and other Achaemenid inscriptions see esp. Sancisi 1999.

25. DPd speaks of the protection against “a hostile army, a bad harvest and the Lie (*drauga*),” See on this text Briant 1996, 253, 942 and Lecoq 1997, 167 with references. Note that, even if one is not prepared to accept Dumézil’s concept of the “trois fonctions” in Indo-European societies, the similarity between the Elamite and the Achaemenid triad retains its significance.

26. Koch defended her position in a number of publications, notably her dissertation of 1977. Though criticising Koch’s position, Handley-Schachler’s recent study (1998) again results in the untenable assumption of separate religions. The author of the present survey is currently preparing a dissertation on Elamite-Iranian acculturation on the basis of the evidence from the PF archive. Compare also the extensive analysis of ritual ceremonies in the PF texts by Sh. Razmjou (forthcoming in the 2003 issue of *Iran*). Hansman’s study (1985) on the gods of the Parthian period kingdom Elymais is suggestive of a long religious continuity, with firm roots in the Elamite past.

(left panel).²⁷ Moorey discussed the gold-figure decoration on Achaemenid silver vessels as a specific Iranian crafts tradition that may ultimately derive from Middle-Elamite precursors (1988, esp. 241f.). The stepped platform of Cyrus' tomb at Pasargadae was compared to the ziggurat of Čogā Zambīl by Stronach (1997b, 41f.).²⁸

In other cases Elam seems to have been the link between Mesopotamian (and other) traditions and the developing Persian culture. The rosette-shaped “buttons” found in the Arġān tomb remind one of similar applications that Neo-Assyrian queens wore on their garments. In the Achaemenid period rosette-shaped applications became increasingly popular as appears from the Persepolis reliefs and from surviving examples.²⁹ The crenellated crown worn by Achaemenid kings is possibly derived from the mural crown worn by Assyrian queens. The crown of Elamite royal women may have provided the necessary link, as is indicated by the Neo-Elamite female (?) figure on what remains of the Elamite relief at Naqš-e Rostam (left panel).³⁰ The so-called hand-over-wrist gesture of some of the figures on the Persepolis reliefs finds its remote origin in Neo-Sumerian Mesopotamia, but the direct precursors may be found in Elamite examples such as the Napirasu statue and the rock-reliefs of Naqš-e Rostam (right panel) and Šekaft-e Salmān II (Root 1979, 272-276).

The continuities mentioned above represent just a selection — a complete discussion would exceed the scope of the present study. Moreover it would be quite unproductive to present a series of influences without properly discussing the circumstances and reasons behind any such Elamite inheritance. To start with: Elamite traditions did not fall on virgin soil, but were incorporated into an existing culture that was not exclusively dependent on foreign traditions for its development. As Briant has stressed before (1984a, 102f.), the Iranians in southern Iran obviously had their own political, social and cultural traditions. Consequently, Elamite traditions, from technical skills to iconography and religious practices, could only have been absorbed in a meaningful way if they were to a certain extent altered to meet the demands of their new context. This transformation is particularly important in the case of such conscious borrowings as titles, royal names or specific iconography that would receive a new ideological dimension in a secondary context. It is easy to imagine that, whereas Neo-Elamite glazed brick decoration primarily had the connotation of royalty and sanctity, it conveyed an additional

27. Kūrangūn and Kūl-e Farah: Vanden Berghe 1963, 31 with fn. 3; Seidl 1986, 12f. Note that the seated deity on the central (ME) Elamite panel of Kūrangūn also has a long plait. Achaemenid seals: see Koch 1992, 247f. (figs. 175-177; cf. 245 fig. 173). A very similar image of a woman with a long plait is represented on a Sasanian seal (BM 119703, see Curtis 2000c, colour plate XI).

28. This idea obviously needs more elaborate study, but this is not the place to discuss the various antecedents that have been proposed for Cyrus' tomb. I merely point to Vallat's remarks (1997a) on the funerary character of the Elamite ziggurat. Potts (1999, 312) states that “Cyrus' tomb may have antecedents in some unpublished Neo-Elamite tombs near Kazerun reported on by A.A. Sarfaraz.” Ghirshman (1972) speculated about links between Čogā Zambīl and Iranian religious practices.

29. The use of these decorations may ultimately be derived from the Mesopotamian tradition of adorning the images of deities with such applications. See generally Kantor 1957; Moorey 1988: 232f.; Özgen - Öztürk 1996, 166f. (with references). On the rosettes found in the tombs of Neo-Assyrian queens see Huot 1999, 312. The Neo-Elamite royal garment, known from Assyrian and Neo-Elamite reliefs, had rows of rosettes on its borders (see below). These rosettes may have been gold “buttons” as well.

30. Crenellated crown in Assyria and Elam: Calmeyer - Eilers 1977, 184f.; de Miroschedji 1985, 279f.; Seidl 1986, 19; Calmeyer 1990a; Musche 1999, 13. Against the idea of a personal crown in the Achaemenid period: Root 1979, 92f.; 171; Henkelman 1995-56. A crenellated crown worn by a Persian princess/queen is shown on a cylinder seal (illustration in Koch 1992, 246). Compare also the crowned women on one of the Pazyryk textiles (*ibid.* 210).

message in Darius' Susa, *i.e.* the *continuity* of Elamite royalty and tradition and thus the Achaemenid claim to be heir to Elam.³¹

The matter is further complicated by the nature of Elamite-Iranian integration and acculturation in the Neo-Elamite period. It is clear that we are not dealing with a one-way process: Elamite culture, including the urban culture of Susa, became itself markedly affected by Iranian traditions. Thus the language of Neo-Elamite texts bears witness to a certain Iranization (Reiner 1960). In the Acropole archive from Susa we find individuals (perhaps including palace officials) with Iranian names as well as several Iranian loanwords (see below II.2.6). Neo-Elamite art shows a number of characteristics that herald Achaemenid art and indicate Iranian influence (cf. above, fn. 5). As Boucharlat (1994, 223f.) points out, under these conditions it can become a rather academic question whether a certain tradition in the Achaemenid period is originally Elamite or the product of an already existing Elamite-Iranian cultural amalgam. This seems particularly true for Achaemenid glyptic art of the "Neo-Elamite" style (known from impressions on the PF tablets). This style is indeed closely related to a certain category of Neo-Elamite seal-impressions on the Acropole tablets from Susa but those impressions in turn show Iranian influences. Consequently, the term "Neo-Elamite" does not really cover the mixed character of the style. The style does reflect Elamite-Iranian acculturation, but in Persepolis it cannot be considered purely "Elamite."³²

Generally, it is of considerable importance to establish whether a certain object, title or iconographic tradition was indeed (intended to be) perceived as specifically "Elamite" or that it was the product of a shared Elamite-Iranian culture that emerged and developed during the long period of cohabitation. Obviously there exists a whole spectre of possibilities between these two extremes. Two examples provided by Calmeyer's valuable study on the "Elamisch-Persische Tracht" (1988) will be discussed here: the "Elamite" dagger and the Elamite (royal) dress.

The "Elamite" dagger can easily be distinguished from the *akinakes* by the asymmetrical extension on the scabbard. It is the weapon of the Elamites on Neo-Assyrian reliefs and of demons or other superhuman beings on a Neo-Elamite limestone wall application. In Achaemenid art we find the "Elamite" dagger as the gift of the Elamite delegation on the Apadana-reliefs and as the weapon of Persians (throne-carriers, heralds of the Apadana-delegations), including the king (Darius statue). Finally, the "Elamite" dagger is held by the "royal hero" in Persepolis and worn by the archer on

31. Note the continuous use of the same (highly siliceous) composition ("pâte siliceuse") throughout the NE and Achaemenid periods. See Amiet 1976, 17f. on a 12th century glazed relief from Susa (previously dated to the 7th century by Amiet 1966, 523!) which has details that correspond closely to the so-called towel-bearer from Darius' *tačaka* in Persepolis. Vallat 1999 considers the possibility that the Apadana palace in Susa was built on the same spot (and with the same orientation) as the Neo-Elamite palace. Compare the restoration of a *dīdā* mentioned in DSe § 5 that may very well refer to an Elamite building (so Briant 1996, 178; Lecoq 1997, 110f.). See also Boucharlat 1994, 224-226.

32. The Neo-Elamite glyptic from the Acropole tablets, its relation with the Persepolis glyptic and its mixed character were first discussed by Amiet (1973). See also de Miroschedji 1982; 1985; Steve 1986; Bollweg 1988; Van Loon 1988; Garrison 1991, 3-7; Root 1991, 21f.; 1999, 165f.; Aruz in Harper - Aruz - Tallon 1994, 213f. Garrison proposed to replace the label "Neo-Elamite" style by "Early-Persian," but at least in the case of the Susa glyptic this may minimize the Elamite element too much. The argument that the famous seal of "Cyrus the Anšānite" (PFS 93*), a pre-Achaemenid heirloom still in use at the time of the Fortification archive, belonged to "an early *Achaemenid* king" (*op. cit.*, 6) is inconclusive. Apart from the fact that this Cyrus (perhaps the grandfather of Cyrus the Great) was probably *not* an Achaemenid, the inscription is written in Elamite and both the name "Kuraš" as the title "the Anšānite" may represent intentional references to Elamite culture and history (see below I.2). See Hinz (1971, 281) for two more probable heirloom seals (PFS* 4 and PFS 77*) that mention Huban-ahpi, an Elamite name that occurs frequently in the Neo-Elamite period (cf. EIw s.v. *hu-ban-a-h-pi*).

Achaemenid coins.³³ From the latter two categories Calmeyer surmised that there may have been a special archaic or mythical ring to this type of dagger (Calmeyer 1988, 32f.), but we may proceed a little further. The dagger's connotation with the mythical or super-human realm leads back to the demon on the Neo-Elamite wall application (not discussed by Calmeyer) and this connotation may be considered an Elamite-Iranian continuity. Furthermore, the gifts of the Elamite delegation on the Apadana staircases do not necessarily indicate the actual origin of this type of dagger, but they do tell us that it was indeed felt to be specifically "Elamite." These daggers are carried by the Elamite delegation only, this in contrast to various types of vessels or the *akinakes* are brought by several other delegations (see Muscarella 1969, 282f.). With these connotations in mind it becomes much more interesting why Persians, who could have chosen the Iranian *akinakes* (worn by several Iranian peoples in Persepolis), opted for the "Elamite" dagger.

Achaemenid reliefs leave no doubt that by the end of the sixth century BC inhabitants of Pārsa and Elam wore the same garment. Calmeyer connected this dress to the Neo-Elamite dress known from Assyrian reliefs and rightly discussed it in the context of Elamite-Iranian acculturation. The connection with the Neo-Elamite dress has been challenged,³⁴ but still, the Achaemenid reliefs do in any case attest to Elamite-Iranian acculturation. The exact background remains unknown in this case: we cannot prove that the dress is either Iranian or Elamite (cf. the remarks by de Miroschedji 1985, 300 fn. 142). In fact, the existence of two independent fashions, the Iranian (worn by the Median and other Iranian delegations on the Apadana reliefs) and the Neo-Elamite (on the Assyrian reliefs), would suggest that a third dress, the "Elamisch-Persische Tracht" is neither purely Iranian nor purely Elamite in origin. It may have been exactly what Calmeyer's label predicts: the product of an already mixed Elamite-Iranian culture.³⁵

33. Assyrian reliefs: see Calmeyer 1988, 32f. for references. Neo-Elamite wall application: Amiet 1966, 531; 1971, 9; Muscarella in Harper - Aruz - Tallon 1994, 201f. Achaemenid coins (type IV): see Stronach 1989, 277, "The weapon in the right hand of the archer can hardly be taken to be the slim, nearly parallel-sided *akinakes*. Instead, it would appear to be the tapered 'Elamite' dagger (or short sword) [...] this patrician weapon [appears as] customary accessory in Persian noble dress [...]. It is in addition the weapon of choice of the 'royal hero'." Apart from Calmeyer, Hinz 1969, 79; Bittner 1987, 134; Brentjes 1993, 19-21; Strommenger 1994, 319; Potts 1999, 342-344 also discussed the Elamite dagger.

34. E. Strommenger (1994) opposed the connection (compare the remarks of Potts 1999, 341f.). Regardless of the problems involved, however, her explanation of the Elamite-Persian garment on *Achaemenid* reliefs is surely to be rejected. Based on the erroneous assumption (uncritically borrowed from Nagel 1982, 152f.; *contra* Potts 1999, 340) that Greek Κίσσιοι represents Old-Persian *wağa* (i.e. ^h*ūja*) and on the Greek account (Hdt., VII, 86) that the Kissioi made up the Achaemenid cavalry together with the Persians and the Medes, Strommenger takes the Elamites on Achaemenid reliefs as the "Iranische Oberschicht" of the former Elamite territory (*non sequitur!*). Thus we are led to believe that the Apadana-reliefs (intended to show a great diversity of populations) do not depict the Elamites themselves, but their Iranian overlords bringing tribute! Moreover, in the Akkadian and Elamite versions of the royal inscriptions these Iranian Κίσσιοι / ^h*ūja* would be "carelessly" coined 'Elamites' (*ibid.*, 323). It needs no explanation that the idea of an "Iranische Oberschicht," that anxiously guarded its own customs, is a rather one-sided and disappointing perspective.

35. A broken passage in the Nabonidus Chronicle (Grayson 1975a, no. 7, col. III, 24-28) has often been taken as proof that Cambyses wore an *Elamite* dress (and consequently was not allowed to enter the temple of Nabû). A recent re-examination by A. George suggests that the person wearing an Elamite robe is probably *not* Cambyses but Cyrus himself. As A. Kuhrt has pointed out, this new interpretation suggests that, in the context of Cambyses' investiture as king of Babylon, the personal intervention and non-Babylonian robes of Cyrus publicly proclaimed the Persian domination (Kuhrt 1997, 300-302). From this perspective it is unnecessary to put much weight on the label "Elamite" in the Chronicle text, as it is primarily used to denote "non-Babylonian." Note that the Nabonidus Chronicle, that gives much weight to ritual matters, is likely to use slightly more archaic terms: apart from "Elamite" (instead of "Persian") we find the archaic label "Gutium" for "Media" or

The case of the Neo-Elamite *royal* garment is quite different. Assyrian images of Te-Umman (664?-653) show the king wearing what Calmeyer called a “Fransenmantel,” a long garment with long fringes and rosettes on its borders.³⁶ Possibly (a variant of) the same garment is depicted on the relief of Kūl-e Farah I, the stele of Atta-hamiti-Inšušinak and may have been worn by the nobleman buried in the Arġān tomb.³⁷ Te-Umman’s garment can also be found on the relief of the four-winged “genius” of gate R in Pasargadae. Dieulafoy was the first to notice the correspondence which he explained by arguing that Cyrus, himself of Aryan lineage, ruled over a population that was essentially “d’origine susienne” (1893, 53). This rather one-dimensional approach insists that the “four-winged genius” (taken to represent Cyrus himself) wore an *Elamite* garment for the sake of the *Elamite* ethnic majority. Thus the garment would have been a mere outward political instrument that otherwise remained an unproductive *Fremdkörper* within the essentially Aryan culture of Cyrus. When we allow the possibility of a more complex and significant Elamite-Iranian acculturation and integration, a more interesting explanation emerges. As Root argued, the four-winged “genius” with its Assyrian, Egyptian, Elamite and Iranian features must have been carefully designed and composed in order to convey a message that responded to the demands of the emerging Achaemenid Empire (Root 1979, 301-304). We may assume that it at least included some sort of claim to the legacy of prestigious cultures, perhaps coupled with an ecumenical notion. Given the rather explicit use of Assyrian and Egyptian elements, we may likewise assume that the robe was indeed perceived as “Elamite.” Its selection for this ideologically significant composition is an important indication of how Elamite culture was perceived in Cyrus’ days (cf. the remarks by Stronach 1997b, 43). Moreover, if the robe was still known and felt to be or to have been *royal*, its use in a palace in Pasargadae would reveal something of the ideology of early Persian kingship. Yet, we cannot be sure about this latter point and we at least have to admit a certain change of its connotation which made the royal robe suitable for a (semi-)divine being. The

some other north-eastern region. Compare also the Dynastic Prophecy that introduces Cyrus as “king of Elam” (col. II, 17-24, see Grayson 1975b, 24f.).

36. Calmeyer (1998, 28) following earlier suggestions of Nylander 1970, 126 and Stronach 1978, 52. See also Sarre - Herzfeld 1910, 156f., 163f.; Amiet 1974, 164; Strommenger 1994, 315.
37. Kūl-e Farah I shows the local ruler Hanni of Aiapir wearing a rich garment with rosettes and long fringes. Dieulafoy (1893, 53) compared the garment to that of Te-Umman stating that the difference was just that Hanni wore a “pèlerine” over his royal robe. Note that Te-Umman and Hanni also share the same type of headdress. KF I is generally assumed to be contemporary with its inscriptions (EKI 75-96i; Hinz 1962; see Stolper 1987-90) and tentatively dated to the 7th century BC (De Waele 1989, 30, 37; Seidl 1997, 202; Stolper *op. cit.*). The garment on the stele of Atta-hamiti-Inšušinak was compared to that of Hanni by Vanden Berghe (1963, 27) and Amiet (1966, 566); Calmeyer compared it to that of Te-Umman (1976, 58; cf. Seidl 1997, 202). The garment, as far as it is visible on the surviving fragments of the stele, seems to have borders with long fringes. The decoration on the borders may be explained as a row of rosettes (Muscarella in Harper - Aruz - Tallon 1994, 198). The second figure on the relief wears a similar garment. A fourth example of the “Fransenmantel” may be found on the Elamite relief at Naqš-e Rostam, where it is worn by the surviving figure on the right panel, dated to the Neo-Elamite period (Seidl 1986, 17f.; cf. Porada 1962, 60 who compared the figure’s headdress to that of Atta-hamiti-Inšušinak). An additional example might be found in the textile fragments from the Arġān tomb (see above I.1). The fragments have elaborate borders with long fringes. The rosette-shaped gold “buttons” found on the upper body of the skeleton were apparently sewn to the robe of the deceased. The textile fragments were discussed by S. Mo’taqed in the journal *Āsār* (1369 AH = 1990, 64-147; *non vidi*).

date of this change cannot be established nor do we know whether or not this transformation was actively programmed.³⁸

The case of the Pasargadae four-winged “genius” should be placed in the context of what seems to have been an active early-Achaemenid policy of connecting to the Elamite past. Two major indications of this ideology are the title and the name of Cyrus. As de Miroschedji (1985, 296-299) points out, if we discharge the Pasargadae inscriptions (CMA-c) as fabrications of Darius’ time, all texts contemporary to Cyrus’ rule, notably the Cyrus Cylinder, all introduce the ruler as “king of Anšan.” Apart from that, there is a seal (PFS 93*) —known from impressions on the Fortification tablets— that names “Kuraš the Anšanite, son of Šešpeš (Teispes).”³⁹ The title “king of Parsu” (e.g. Grayson 1975a, no. 7, col. II, 15; DB-akk §10) or even the label “Achaemenid” (CMA-c) are also applied to Cyrus, but none of those texts can be dated to Cyrus’ reign or proven to be commissioned by that king. Consequently, “king of Anšan” seems to have been the only title used by Cyrus and his Teispian predecessors. Actually, the name Anšan may have been a deliberate archaism in the time that “Pārsa” must already have been in use for the region. To explain the adoption of the title, we should refer to the title “king of Anšan and Susa” that was the hallmark of the Middle-Elamite kings and was reintroduced by their Neo-Elamite successors (not necessarily implying unaffected sovereignty over Fārs).⁴⁰ The title used by Cyrus and his predecessors of the Teispian dynasty seems a conscious reference to this Elamite royal title. In fact the title “king of (the city of) Anšan” seems to express a certain rivalry with the Neo-Elamite kings of the Susiana who (even after the Assyrian invasions) continued to include Anšan in their title, expressing their status as heirs to the Grand Elam of the second millennium. Cyrus’ title seeks to link his dynasty to the same tradition, while at the same time it competes with the Neo-Elamite claim to sovereignty over Fārs/Anšan. In this context it should be noted that our most important

38. The contexts of the possible attestations of the “Fransenmantel” (mentioned in fn. 37) are obviously relevant to its adoption and transformation. There are several connections between the reliefs of Kūl-e Farah and Šekaft-e Salmān and the Achaemenid period, both in iconographic and in cultic sphere (see esp. Calmeyer 1973 and 1980, 110f.; cf. Vanden Berghe 1986, 162; Carter - Stolper 1984, 172). On the stele of Atta-hamiti-Inšušinak, tentatively dated to the late Neo-Elamite period (see above fn. 5), the king wears a bracelet resembling Loreštān bracelets (Muscarella in Harper - Aruz - Tallon 1994, 199). The Neo-Elamite figure (and older parts of the same relief) in Naqš-e Rostam attests to the continuous importance of the site from Elamite to the Achaemenid periods (note also the Elamite stele, tentatively dated to the end of the second millennium, that was found about 300 m. west of the site; Gropp 1970, 198). The relevance of the Arġān-tomb, that possibly contained one or several robes with fringes and rosettes, for Elamite-Iranian relations has been discussed above (I.1).

39. The inscription on seal PFS 93* reads: [D^{iš}k]u-raš / ^{AS}an-za- / an-x- / ra DUMU / še?-iš-pè- / iš-na. Most commentators have assumed the sign represented by -x- to be IR, giving *anzanirra*, “the man from Anšan.” Steve in his syllabary (1992, 89, 152) supports this lecture. Garrison (1991, 4), however, objected to the strange form of IR and proposed to read TAG instead. Though this finds some palaeographic support, Garrison’s ^{AS}an-za-an tak-ra would not make any sense (“Cyrus the life of Anšan” ??). As an alternative one could theoretically read BI (with value *pè*) giving ^{AS}an-za-an-pè-ra. This would literally mean “he of the Anšanites,” implying the rulership of Kuraš over the inhabitants of Anšan. Yet, this suggestion has the disadvantage of assuming an anomalous writing of BI. Moreover, one would normally expect BE (with value *pè*) instead of BI (e.g. ^{AS}za-ri-pè-ra in S 71, 2).

40. Neo-Elamite “kings of Anšan and Susa:” Šutruk-Nahhunte II, Šutur-Nahhunte, Atta-hamiti-Inšušinak (“I am king of Anšan and Susa, expander of the realm”), Hallutaš-Inšušinak (“I expanded the realm of Anšan and Susa”). According to Vallat (1996a, 390f.) all these kings, except for Šutruk Nahhunte II, should be dated to the period after the Assyrian invasions of the 640s. Teispian “kings of Anšan:” see de Miroschedji (1985, 296-299) for a complete discussion of the evidence. See also Stronach 1997b, 37f. On the date of the CMA-c in the reign of Darius see now Stronach 1990 and 1997c.

testimony, the Cyrus Cylinder from Babylon, has the title “great king, king of the *city* (URU) of Anšan,” while Cyrus’ other Akkadian inscriptions have “the king of the *land* (KUR) of Anšan” (Vallat 1997c, 426f.). The latter title is certainly more in line with the fact that the *city* of Anšan (Tall-e Malyān) was already deserted at *ca.* 1000 BC (see above I.1). Given the authority of the Cyrus Cylinder (cf. Vallat *loc. cit.*), we should take the title “king of the *city* of Anšan” seriously, however, and the best way to explain it is the Middle-Elamite title (still in use in the Neo-Elamite period), “king of Anšan and Susa,” that clearly refers to the two capital *cities*.⁴¹

The name of Cyrus is known in two forms: *Kuraš* in Elamite and Akkadian, *Kuruš* in Old Persian.⁴² The Elamite and Akkadian forms are the oldest, occurring in the Acropole texts (S 98, rev. 1^{BE} *kur-rāš*), on the seal of Kuraš the Anšanite (PFS 93*) and in the Mesopotamian texts dating to the reign of Cyrus II (see above). Apart from that, both forms occur in the Achaemenid trilingual inscriptions. We may reasonably assume that the Akkadian form is taken from the Elamite form. Furthermore, logically either Elamite *Kuraš* or Old-Persian *Kuruš* represents the oldest and original form of the name, the other form is necessarily an adaptation. In theory an Old-Persian name *Kuruš* could have been changed into *Kuraš* in Elamite, but it is hard to think of any reason for this change: names ending in *-uš* are perfectly acceptable in Elamite (Kutkuš, Hutelutuš-Inšušinak). Conversely, an Elamite name *Kuraš* could *not* have been accepted in Old Persian, as that language has no nouns and names on *-aš*. The nominal conjugation with nominative *-uš* would have been the closest option to represent the name.

The principle described above indicates that the form *Kuraš* is to be considered the *prius*, as was argued as early as 1902 by F.C. Andreas (1904).⁴³ As elamology was still in its infancy, Andreas had no chance of supporting his theory on the basis of the Elamite lexicon and his conclusion on Cyrus’ “Anšanite” lineage (“Kyros ist also kein Perser gewesen”) is indeed rash. This may not have been the main reason, however, why his remarks received relatively little attention: apparently it was felt that the Empire’s founding father could not possibly have had a non-Aryan name, let alone a non-Aryan

41. De Miroschedji (1985, 298f.) saw the title “king of Anšan” as the return of a very ancient title (not used since *ca.* 1900) that existed at the time of a truly independent Anšan. It is however less likely that the Teispian kings remembered the Old-Elamite title than that they simply adapted the Neo-Elamite one. I also disagree with Vallat 1997c, who took “king of the *city* of Anšan” as an historically correct title implying a vassal status of Cyrus and his predecessors (to the kings of Pārsa) and used it as support for his idea of “Cyrus I^{usurpateur}.”

42. Akkadian forms: Tallqvist 1905, 92b; Hüsing 1908, 319; Tavernier 2002, 753f. The name is spelled *ku-rāš* in Elamite and *ku-u-ru-u-š* in Old-Persian.

43. Andreas proceeded from an older discussion in which notably H.A. Sayce had stressed the Elamite character of Cyrus’ title (see the extensive bibliography in Rollinger 1998, 170 fn. 82). Two important early publications that proceed from Andreas’ findings are Hüsing 1908 and Dhorme 1912 (both claiming an Elamite origin). Hinz (1976, 52f.; compare 1968, 434) apparently realized the significance of the *Kuruš/Kuraš* alteration, but assumed that a “verborgene Grund” induced the Elamite scribes to consequently avoid the “richtige” spelling of the Old-Persian original *Kuruš*. For Elamite ears *Kuruš* would have meant “er hegte, betreute,” but *Kuraš* “er verbrannte, steckte in Brand.” Hinz continues: “Ihrem Groll über die persische Eindringlinge machten die elamische Sekretäre heimlich und unauffällig Luft, eben indem sie Kurush in einen Kurash verwandelten.” Apart from the lexical uncertainties involved, such a statement is hardly at home in a scholarly debate. Gershevitch (1990) also supposes a “disagreeable” connotation for **Kura-* (which he takes to be the original *Iranian* form) that was subsequently changed into *Kuruš* in Old-Persian. The Elamites, though, retained **Kura-* which they changed to *Kuraš*, a form mistakenly derived from (early) Old-Persian **Kurašča* (“and Cyrus,” with enclitic *-ča*). Considering an Elamite background could have prevented such untenable constructions. Note also the “explanation” “Elam. /-aš/ für /-uš/ im Kyros Namen hat wahrscheinlich eine auf diesen Fall beschränkte Begründung” by Mayrhofer (1973, 117), who is willing to except an anomaly to keep *Kuruš* as an *Iranian* name (even though the author does not venture an *Iranian* etymology here).

lineage. Hence the indignant responses of C.F. Lehmann and Eduard Meyer to Andreas' lecture. Subsequent studies repeatedly claimed an Indo-Iranian etymology without seriously considering the Elamite option, despite the *-aš/-uš* variation, the older attestations of *Kuraš* (NE and perhaps even Ur III; see fn. 45 below), the impossibility of fitting the name into the normal system of Iranian compound names such as *Dārayavau-* and *Xšayāršan-* (cf. Brandenstein - Mayrhofer 1964, 115, 126) and the additional clue from the title "king of Anšan." Even the richly documented study by Eilers (1964) surprisingly fails to recognize the obvious importance of the Elamite evidence.⁴⁴

The Elamite lexicon and onomasticon provide an ample basis for an Elamite etymology. The element *kur-* is widely attested in personal and geographical names.⁴⁵ Its meaning remains uncertain, though second millennium names like Kuri-Humban, G/Kuri-Simut, Kuri-Šukku, Kuri-Nanna etc. (*kur+i*) may suggest something like "fortune" (cf. ElW, "Wonne"). *Kuraš* may be a (abbreviated?) name based on the verbal root *kur+a*. We may tentatively interpret it as "he [or x] gives fortune" or (following Zadok) "he who bestows care."⁴⁶

With the likelihood of an Elamite etymology in mind, we may refer to a passage in Strabo (XV, 3, 6), where it is claimed that Cyrus took his name from the river Kyros (near Pasargadae) and was origi-

44. Eilers (1964, 1974; compare Brandenstein - Mayrhofer 1964, 130) mentions the Elamite form *Kuraš*, but he treats it only in a footnote at the "Akkadian form" (1964, fn. 47: "Übrigens lautet auch die elamische Form auf *-aš...*") and simply explains it as a "häufige Endung der agglutinierende Zagros-Sprachen" (without discussing the reasons behind the supposed change from *Kuruš* to *Kuraš*). The author does consider a non-Indo-Iranian etymology of the name, but the main emphasis of his publication lies on the name of *Kuru-*, the ancestor of the *Kauravas* in the *Mahābhārata*. Eilers argues that this ancestor was blind and that *Kuru-* subsequently was used for "blind," hence the Middle Iranian word *kōr*, "blind," and the rivers named "Cyrus" ("blind water"). I cannot oversee all the material adduced by Eilers, but it seems that it does not really explain the name of Cyrus after all, especially when we consider the possibility that the Sanskrit form *Kuru-* may be dependent of the Old-Persian form *Kuruš* (compare the Iranian origin of the name of the Sanskrit name *Kambōḡa* which is indirectly related to Old-Persian *Ka^mbūjiya-*, see Eilers 1964, 210-213). Eilers (1974, 8) himself indeed seems to imply this Iranian origin of *Kuru-* on the basis of the negative image of the *Kauravas* in India. Proceeding from a supposed Old-Indian background Mayrhofer (1979a, II/23f.) and Schmitt (1995, 2000b) advocated Hoffmann's interpretation of **Kū-ru-* as "humiliator of the enemy [in verbal contest]," but both scholars acknowledged the possibility of a non-Iranian origin. Against Hoffmann's theory: H.-P. Schmidt 1987, 357f. See Zadok 1976a, 63 fn. 14; Mayrhofer *loc. cit.* and Tavernier 2002, 752f. for further references on Indo-Iranian etymologies. Citing the name as Iranian, but without offering an etymology: Hinz 1973, 142; ElW s.v. *ku-rāš*. Apparently, the element *kur(a)-* could be used in Elamo-Iranian hybrid names (on which see Zadok 1984a, 59; 1991, 236f.) as well: e.g. *Kurašiyatiš*, *Kurabada* and *Kurrašikka*. Some scholars insist that the element *kur(r)a-* in these names is of Iranian origin (see Gershevitch 1969, 188 and ElW s.vv.), but that would still leave the (older) form *Kuraš* and the *-uš/-aš* variation unexplained.

45. Names with the element *kur-*: Zadok 1984a, 23f. (§§ 117-118) and compare Vallat 1993, 146-152 for GNs. On the verbal root *kur-* see Zadok 1995, 246. On the name *Kurraš* (S 98) and the similar name *ku-ur-ra-šú* occurring in a Neo-Babylonian promissory note (541/540 BC), see *idem* 1976a, 62; 1991, 237. On the Ur III occurrence of a *kūr-āš*, "on the face a perfect forerunner of the name of the Achaemenid dynasts who lived almost a millennium and a half later," see *idem* 1994, 33. Zadok, as far as I can see, never explicitly defended the Elamite background of *Kuraš* and related forms, but the materials presented by this scholar are hardly supportive of an Iranian background. Note Zadok's category of names with *kurkur* (reduplicated from *kur-*; 1984a, 24) and compare the (chance?) occurrence of Cyrus as *Kukurraš* in two late-Babylonian texts (references in Zawadzki 1995).

46. Compare Zadok (1995, 246) followed by Stronach (1997b, 38), who suggested "he who bestows care" for *Kuraš*. See the ElW for occurrences of the verbal root *kura-* and note the intriguing case of *kur-rāš-n[a²]* in a (late?) Achaemenid-Elamite inscription from Susa (Steve 1975, 18f.).

nally named Agradates (ἀντὶ Ἀγραδάτου μετονομασθεὶς Κῦρος).⁴⁷ Though we cannot corroborate this statement, the practise of later Achaemenid kings to assume throne-names at least makes it possible. “Agradates” seems to be an Iranian name; it is certainly not Elamite.⁴⁸ This suggests that Cyrus (and/or his grandfather), being of Iranian origin, deliberately chose both an Elamite throne-name (Kuraš) and an Elamite title (“king of Anšan”). The fact that the name Kuraš occurs elsewhere, in the name of Kuraš of Parsumaš and in the Acropole texts, does not (as Bollweg claims) render the Elamite origin unlikely; but it does attest to the widespread appeal of the name beyond its use within the Anšanite dynasty of Teispes.⁴⁹

The name and title of Cyrus, the re-appearance of the Elamite royal garment and other Elamo-Iranica mentioned above bear witness to the importance and complexity of the process of acculturation and integration of Elamites and Iranians in the Neo-Elamite period. Obviously, the list presented here is far from complete and, besides, it has focused primarily on the relations between Elamites and the Iranians of modern Fārs. This part of the Elamite-Iranian acculturation will undoubtedly continue to receive most attention because of its relevance to the rise of the Achaemenid Empire or even the “*éthnogenèse des Perses*” as de Miroschedji puts it. Yet, Elamite-Iranian acculturation is not likely to have been confined to the region east of Khūzestān. Iranian tribes seem to have lived to the north of the Neo-Elamite state, roughly the region of modern Lorestān, as well. The scarce and problematic evidence on contacts between Elamites and these Iranians (perhaps including tribes that could be labelled “Median”) will be discussed in the remainder of this survey.

II.1. Medes and Elamites

A discussion of possible Elamite-Median contacts is certainly legitimate from the perspective that Elamites and Medes were the two main groups confronted with the Neo-Assyrian involvement in western Iran. One is surely tempted to assume that opposing Assyrian expansion alone would have brought Elamites and Medes into contact. Yet, identifying such contacts is rather difficult, not only by

47. Eilers (1964; 1974) attempts to explain the personal name and the river names with *kur-* by assuming that they both independently derive from a word for “blind” is unconvincing (cf. above fn. 44).

48. Contrary to *-dates* (cf. OP *dāta-* that occurs frequently in PNs) the element *agra-* does not immediately suggest an Iranian etymology. One may compare, though, the name of the city of Agra situated in Western Susiana by Ptolemy (VI, 3, 4) in the western Susiana. Maybe *agra-* can be explained as OP **āgra-* (compare OP *āg(a)riya-*, “willig, loyal, gut gesinnt;” see Brandenstein - Mayrhofer 1964, 101), perhaps “loyalty” or better “excellence” (compare Skt. *āgra-*, “summit;” see Kent 1953, 165b). Depending on whether one would explain *dāta-* as “made,” “given” or perhaps “born” (compare Av. *zāta-*), *Agradates* thus would mean “made of excellence,” “given by excellence” or “born of excellence” respectively. Note that there is a tradition in which an *Atradates* is Cyrus’ father (Nic. Damasc., FGrH 90 F 66, 3). The similarity with *Agradates* can hardly be coincidence; in majuscule script Ἀγραδάτης could easily have been read Ἀτραδάτης or vice versa (Γ > Τ or Τ > Γ). It is hard to say which one represents the original form (and the original tradition).

49. “Kuraš of Parsumaš” sent his son Arukku as a hostage to the Assyrian court at the time of Assurbanipal’s invasion of Elam (prism fragment published by Weidner 1931-32). In older publications this ruler was identified to Cyrus I of the Teispian dynasty. Doubts have been raised, however, as to the chronological implications (reigns of ± 40 years for both Cyrus I and Cambyses I) and to the identification of this Parsumaš with Fārs. De Miroschedji (1985) was first to suggest that Kuraš of Parsumaš and Cyrus I were two different rulers, proposing a reign from ca. 610 to 585 for the latter. A stylistic analysis of PFS 93*, the seal of Kuraš the Anšanite (probably identical to Cyrus I), seems to confirm this lower date. De Miroschedji’s position has been (partly) accepted by i.a. Vallat 1996a, 392 and Briant 1996, 28. For an overview of the debate on the two Kyroi and the difference between Parsu(m)aš and Parsua see especially Rollinger 1999 (and cf. fn. 9 above).

the dearth of explicit references but also in view of the absence of a clear definition of “Medes.” Probably, there never was a “Median empire” *strictu sensu*, as the regretted Heleen Sancisi repeatedly argued (1988, 1994), an idea that is finding increasing support.⁵⁰ Consequently, the use of the label “Mede” and the territory inhabited by “Medes” is likely to have been fluctuant throughout the 8th, 7th and 6th centuries due to varying military success and internal developments.⁵¹ If Liverani’s analysis (in this volume) of the archaeological data is correct, the Median tribes experienced not only the formation of secondary states, but also the *decline* of these structures and a return to tribal pastoralism.⁵² These considerations make it more difficult to speak of “Elamite-Median” contacts. Moreover, it seems that tribes that considered themselves to be “Medes” did not live in areas directly bordering on the Neo-Elamite territory. The main entity north of Elam was the enigmatic kingdom of Ellipi, at least in the Neo-Assyrian period.⁵³ Ellipi’s power seems to have been in decline towards the end of that period and the state is last mentioned ca. 660 BC. One could assume that, perhaps after the fall of Assyria, Medes and Elamites filled the vacuum left by the waning Ellipian power (thus effectively becoming neighbours), but there is no historical evidence to indicate such and the relative weakness of both “Media” (cf. Liverani *ibid.*) and Elam in the period between 650-550 is hardly supportive of this scenario.

Of course, the problems mentioned above do not exclude contact between Elamites and Iranians living north of the Neo-Elamite territory, even if those Iranians cannot be securely labelled “Medes.” The spread of typical Iron Age III wares throughout the relevant area is most plausibly explained by a growing presence of Iranians or an Iranian influence.⁵⁴ In this context we should also refer to the name of Ašpabara, one of the nephews of king Daltā of Ellipi, who clearly has an Iranian name.⁵⁵ At the same time, a certain Elamite political influence in Ellipi can be expected. Two cases provide positive evidence: Nibē (Ašpabara’s cousin and rival) sought Elamite support in the struggle for the Ellipian throne (see Fuchs - Schmitt 2001; Berlejung 2001) and, secondly, Ellipi joined the Elam-led anti-As-

50. Cf. the papers by Lanfranchi and Liverani in this volume. Contacts between “Medes” and “Elamites” are not reported in Mesopotamian sources. ABL 1008 (Waterman 1930, 200f.) does mention both groups, but the (fragmentary) letter does not seem to refer to contacts.

51. On the problems surrounding the “Median Empire” and “Median geography” cf. Muscarella 1994, 57-59.

52. For a different perspective, see Roaf, this volume.

53. On Ellipi’s boundaries see Levine 1974, 104-106; Chamaza 1994, 102f.; Medvedskaya 1999, 63f.

54. E.g. Goff 1968; 1978, 34f., 42. For the (northern) Bakhtiari mountains see Zagarell 1982. Note also the purported closeness of the Čogā Miš materials and the Iron Age III wares from the Zagros (see above fn. 18), perhaps indicative of an early Iranian presence in northern Khūzestān.

55. On the name **aspabāri-* in cuneiform sources see Eilers 1940, 104, 106; Fuchs - Gesche - Schmitt 1998. The name of Ašpabara’s brother, Lutū, may be Elamite (Zadok 2002, 127). Compare the Ellipian district of Bīt-Barrūa (probably named after the Ellipean king Barrū) that may have an Iranian or Elamite name (so Frahm - Schmitt 1998; Zadok 2001b, 34f.). Apart from the name of Ašpabara, Justi also considered the names of his father (Daltā) and cousin (Nibē) to be Iranian (1895, 77, 142f., 229), but the latter two cases are less convincing (cf. Zadok 1990; 2002, 130). Note that Streck (1900, 376f.) proposed to identify *Ellipi* as an Elamite name, with the Elamite plural marker, *i.e.* *Ellī-pi* (compare perhaps Lullubi and *Marappiyap/Marappap* [Maraphians]; see below fns. 112, 115). On the ethno-linguistic character of Ellipi in general see most recently Zadok 2002, 127f.

syrian coalition at the battle of Ḥalule (691).⁵⁶ The material culture of southern Lorestān reveals a Neo-Elamite influence, if not presence. The sites of Sorkh-e Dom and Čigā Sabz have revealed glyptic and luxury goods of a clear Elamite signature.⁵⁷ Furthermore, Ellipians and Elamites (by their hairdo and dress) apparently looked much the same to their western neighbours, judging from the Assyrian sculptures (Reade 1976a, 98f.). Taken together, these slight but meaningful indications of both Iranian and Elamite (cultural) presence suggest progressive Elamite-Iranian acculturation in this area. Interestingly, the plains of Deh Lorān and Patak in northern Khūzestān, both have at least one relatively large site that was continuously occupied throughout the later Middle-Elamite, Neo-Elamite and Achaemenid periods.⁵⁸ The presence of these larger centres of Elamite culture has an obvious relevance for the Elamite Iranian acculturation in Lorestān. Yet, we cannot be sure about the scale of this process, especially compared to the acculturation that must have taken place in Fārs in the same period. One should probably not exclude the possibility that even some southern “Medes” were, perhaps indirectly, affected by Elamite-Iranian acculturation, but our sources do not allow being more precise. One thing is certain, however: Elamite-Iranian acculturation in the areas north of Elam was apparently not as consequential as it was in Fārs, where it was instrumental to the genesis of the Persian ethnos and the formation of a complex state.

As to the question of Elamite-“Median” contacts there is perhaps one piece of indirect evidence that could be helpful. We are at least certain that Medes besieged and destroyed Nineveh and were described as such in contemporary sources. Interestingly, the particular character of the iconoclasm on Assurbanipal’s Nineveh reliefs may point to an *Elamite* presence at the same occasion. Reade (1976a, 105) suggested that the damage to the faces of the murderers of the Elamite king Te-Umma and his son Tammartu (BM 124801) as well as the face of Huban-nikaš/Ummaš II (BM 124802), the

56. Compare also the relief (BM 124793) depicting the capture of Humban-haltaš III (ca. 644 BC; see Waters 2000, 79f.) and the fragmentary epigraph mentioning the place Murūbisi (*i.e.* probably Marubištu in Ellipi). The epigraph does *not* mention the king’s delivery by pro-Assyrian Ellipians (as Diakonoff 1985b, 23 suggests) and Assurbanipal’s annals (Luckenbill 1927, II, § 832) clearly state that the Assyrians themselves captured the Elamite. In fact the episode suggests a certain relationship between the Elamite king and Ellipi, even if his efforts to raise support there were cut short by the Assyrians. See also the remarks by Fales (this volume) on this episode and its purported relevance to the Kalmākarra objects and compare fn. 129 below. In this context ^{AS}*Karintaš* in an inscription (EKI 72, 11) by Šutruk-Nahhunte II (717-699) should also be mentioned. Hüsing (1916) first identified this locality with modern Kerend (some 50 km southeast of Sar-e Pol-e Zohāb), which would imply Elamite involvement in late 8th century northern Ellipi (compare Hinz 1964, 118). In the context of the Daltā episode (708 BC) this would certainly be plausible. The problem is, however, that the text of EKI 72 has many similarities with EKI 23, an inscription by the great predecessor of Šutruk-Nahhunte II: Šutruk-Nahhunte I (first half 12th century). Apart from the titles (and royal name) employed by Šutruk-Nahhunte II, the link with the glorious Middle-Elamite past is made explicit by reference to the kings Hutelutuš-Inšušinak and Šilhana-hamru-Lagamar (EKI 72, 5-6). Now, Šutruk-Nahhunte I claims to have conquered the land of Karintaš on the order of Inšušinak (EKI 23, 5-6, *Inšušinak [napir-u-ri urtahanra Karinta[š halpuh]*). His distant successor Šutruk-Nahhunte II states (EKI 72, 11) *Inšušinak Karintaš humah*, which means either “pour Inšušinak, je me suis emparé de Karintaš” (Malbran-Labat 1995, 135) or “je me suis emparé (de la statue) d’Inšušinak à Karintaš” (Grillot-Susini - Montagne 1996, 25). In any case, the text and context are close to that of EKI 23. In fact, both texts are too close to exclude the possibility that *imitatio* of his predecessor prompted Šutruk-Nahhunte II to include a reference to Karintaš. Karintaš is also mentioned in two texts by Šilhak-Inšušinak (EKI 51, 8, 10; 52, 23; cf. Vallat 1993, 131).

57. Schmidt - Van Loon - Curvers 1989, esp. 245-248, 413-453, 490; Van Loon 1988; Carter 1998, 322f. Compare also the Elamite character of the funerary deposits in a tomb at Karkhai in the southern Pušt-e Kūh (de Miroschedji 1990b, 184f.).

58. The sites are Tepe Gūghan and Tepe Patak; see de Miroschedji 1986, 215 and 1990, 60f.

Elamite puppet king installed by Assurbanipal (see Waters 2000, 56ff.), was intentionally done by Elamites in the wake of the attack of 612 BC. Nylander (1980) elaborated this idea of intentional and specific iconoclasm, focusing on the mutilation of a copper head (of an unknown Akkadian ruler) from Nineveh, which he assumed to have a specifically Iranian character.⁵⁹ In a recent article, Nylander (1999) took up the issue again, this time arguing that the celebrated Assurbanipal banquet scene (BM 124920) would have been especially provocative to Elamite eyes. Hence Elamites are likely to have been the iconoclasts who demolished the king's face, his cup and lower parts of the queen's face.⁶⁰ Though it may be difficult to prove this particular case, generally a markedly *Elamite* iconoclasm at Nineveh cannot be refuted easily. It is indeed very striking that amidst hundreds of untouched images, two images of Assurbanipal's face (on the banquet scene and on a hunting scene, BM 124858) and the faces of the above mentioned murderers of Te-Umman and his son Tammarišu as well as that of Huban-nikaš II were singled out for mutilation. From this we may tentatively infer that at least some Elamites had joined the Median invaders, even though there is not a single text to corroborate this assumption.⁶¹ The Elamite iconoclasm at Nineveh thus provides a rare and possibly unique piece of evidence, however indirect, of contacts between Elamites and Medes.⁶²

One more issue should be mentioned in the present context: that of the three fragmentary Elamite texts found in the citadel at Argištihinili (Armavir-blur, Armenia). Vallat has convincingly shown that the largest fragment (Arg. 1) represents a private letter (1997b; comp. 1995b), refuting earlier interpretations of the document as an Elamite Gilgameš-text (Diakonoff - Jankowska 1990) or as an Achaemenid economic document of the PF type (Koch 1993). Unavoidably, a number of uncertainties remain in Vallat's interpretation, but it is clear that a certain Nukupema is urged to make inquiries after a woman Kušinuya (perhaps a runaway slave). The stratum in which the fragments were found indicates 8th/7th century BC, but it contained some later intrusions (Diakonoff - Jankowska 1990, 103). Steve (1992, 24) questioned the high date (accepted by Diakonoff - Jankowska) pointing to the closeness of the syllabary with that of the PF texts (509-494 BC). Vallat assumed a date between the Acropole and the PF texts and, considering a pre-Cyrus date unlikely from historic perspective, he proposed 550-520. Recently, Briant (2001, 44) questioned this last argument, as Cyrus' conquest of Armenia thus far remains unproven. In theory, one could re-consider a Neo-Elamite date (late 7th or early 6th century), which would obviously be of interest for Elamite-Median contacts. Yet, a lower rather than a

59. Nylander suggested that the form of "punishment" of the copper head is closely related to the punishments known from the Bīsotūn inscription. In the context of this specifically Iranian iconoclasm he rightly invokes possible ceremonial breaking of the *adū*-texts by the Median invaders (1980, 332; cf. Liverani 1995, 62). Compare also Assurbanipal's mutilation of a statue of the Elamite king Hallušu (see Potts 1999, 271).

60. The relief is clearly linked to the Elamite campaigns by the Elamites serving as attendants and the gruesome image of Te-Umman's head and right hand suspended from nearby trees. Nylander argues that the image furthermore expresses the idea of divine kingship and victory through the formula "king + cup + vine arbour," which finds parallels in earlier Elamite (glyptic) art. According to the author it was precisely this aspect that provoked Elamite iconoclasm on the head and cup of Assurbanipal (as well as the head of his queen).

61. Unless the so-called "Nineveh-letters," a small corpus of Neo-Elamite texts, are indeed from the site of Kuyunjik. If this is the case, the letters attest to Elamite presence in Nineveh, probably after the sack of the city. Their provenance remains disputed, however, and their contents are still largely obscure. See Vallat 1998b and Reade 2000c for the most recent interpretations and arguments.

62. Van de Mieroop, in his brief treatment of the mutilated faces on the Nineveh reliefs, suggests that "the Medes must have felt a bond with the Elamites who had ruled the south-western corner of Iran" (1999a, 58f. and fn. 4). It is hardly convincing that the Medes would a) have recognized the precise meaning of all the images (especially that of the puppet king Huban-nikaš II), and b) would have devoted themselves, upon conquering Nineveh, to an Elam-orientated mutilation for the sake of a bond with an absent people in a far away area!

higher date seems the most likely solution given the closeness to the PF syllabary and the repeated use of the word *da-ut-tam*₅, i.e. OP *datā*, “law.” We indeed may ask whether the Persian conquest would have brought “une diffusion du néo-élamite” to the area (Briant), but this matter becomes less problematic if the document is a private letter (probably sent from southern Iran) and unconnected to the official administration. Perhaps the most likely scenario is that Arg. 1 dates early in the reign of Darius and that it was sent by a private individual living in an area where Elamite was still the dominant language. This would explain the use of Elamite (rather than Aramaic or Akkadian) by the sender and his Armenia-based associate or subordinate as well as the *slightly* more archaic syllabary and grammar compared to the PF texts. Still, a Neo-Elamite date cannot be excluded: if the writer lived in an Elamite-Iranian environment, this could perhaps also explain the use of *da-ut-tam*₅.⁶³

Thus far, we have only found some possible indirect evidence for Elamite-Median contacts. The case for such contacts would obviously be much stronger if Neo-Elamite texts would explicitly mention “Medes.” In fact this is precisely what has been claimed in the case of the Neo-Elamite archives from Susa, but on closer inspection these claims cannot be maintained.

II.2. Medes in Susa?

The so-called Acropole texts from Neo-Elamite Susa are a series of administrative documents pertaining to goods received, manufactured or distributed by the local palace.⁶⁴ Generally, these texts are dated towards the end of the 7th or the beginning of the 6th century.⁶⁵ It may very well be that the archive covers only one generation or even just a part of it, but a precise dating is impossible in the absence of reference to years of reign or other datable events. Scheil, who published the texts, was the first to admit the great amount of uncertainties and predicted that “toute une génération de savants” would be occupied to solve all the problems (1907, v). Now, almost four generations later, that prediction appears to have been wishful thinking, as our knowledge of the archive remains limited. Still, even at the present state of knowledge, the archives provide valuable information, particularly on the relations between Elamites and Iranians. A significant number of the personal names within the

63. The second text (Arg. 2) seems to refer to grain and small cattle (?) and may be a business document. Again the forms of the signs are very close to the ones used in the PF texts. Note that the plausible late date of these texts does not exclude the possibility of Neo-Elamite activity in this area. Barnett has repeatedly stressed the importance of Elamite-Urartian trade (1954, 16f.; 1956, 228-234). Obviously, this does not necessarily imply direct contacts. It is an interesting thought, however, that such contacts may have formed the background of Assurbanipal’s decision to confront Urartean messengers with their two ill-fated Elamite colleagues (so Wäfler 1975, 253; for the epigraphs mentioning the confrontation see also Russell 1999, 163, 176-180).

64. A corpus of 299 texts published by p. V. Scheil (1907 and 1911, no. 309).

65. This date is largely based on a comparative analysis of the palaeography of the texts and of the seal impressions on the tablets: de Miroschedji 1982, 60 (ca. 650-550); Vallat 1984, 7 (646-539); Steve 1986, 20; 1992, 22 (605-539). See also Scheil 1907, iii-iv (beginning 6th century); Carter - Stolper 1984, 54; Stolper 1994c, 267 (end 7th - beginning 6th century); Potts 1999, 297-301 (645-539). Hinz 1987, 125-127 is the only recent reference of a higher date (688-681), but the arguments used are based on uncertain grounds. To name just one: a certain ^{BE}*ma-ak-iš-tur-ri* (S 132, 7; cf. the “Schreibfehler” ^{BE}*ma-ak-tur-tur-ri* in S 95:9, cf. ElW s.v.) is identified with a Median ruler “Cyaxares I” (supposed to have died ± 680). Leaving aside the hazardous chronology of Median rulers, the identification of both persons is quite problematical. The individual mentioned in the Acropole texts is nowhere indicated to be of special rank or “from Media.” Secondly, the context of S 95 suggests the lecture ^{BE}*ma-ak-tur šak-ri* (as Scheil 1907, 118 already explicitly preferred), perhaps indeed a mistake for ^{BE}*ma-ak-iš šak-ri* as in S 132, 7. Thirdly, even if we have a “Cyaxares” here (so apparently Cameron 1948, 24 fn. 2), it does not mean very much: the name was also used by a private person in the unpublished Fortification text PF-NN 2542.

archive is Iranian, the texts attest to commercial and other dealings with various Iranian tribes and the language of the texts has much in common with the later Persepolis archives (the PF texts in particular). We will return to the archive's relevance for Elamite-Iranian acculturation in a later paragraph; the question that presently calls for our attention is whether "Median" groups or objects of "Median" origin were present in Susa, at the end of the Neo-Elamite period.

Scheil himself already believed that at least one Median tribe, "les Ragéens de Médie," was mentioned in the archive (1907, iii-iv). But the most determined advocate of Median presence was without any doubt Walther Hinz, who claimed that the word *madaka* (and its variants) means "Medisch," that *Maktap* indicates "Meder" and that the word *saharpi* (or *sarpi*) was to be explained as *sarapis* (i.e. Greek σάρapis), a typical *Median* garment. Furthermore, both Hinz and Mayrhofer claimed that a number of the Iranian names in the Acropole texts are of a distinctively Median signature. It must be stressed that none of these points can be proven with reasonable certainty and some of these assumptions have already been attacked by other scholars (e.g. Vallat 1993, 161 on *madaka*). In fact, all the arguments in favour of a Median presence in Susa can easily be shown to be ill founded. In the absence of a comprehensive treatment of the problem, however, the idea apparently still finds support as it occurs in the most recent synthesis of Neo-Elamite history.⁶⁶

II.2.1. Maktap

The group indicated as *Maktap* may serve as a starting point for our discussion of "Medes" in Susa. Four texts mention ^{BE}*ma-ak-tap* or ^{BE}*ma-ak-tap-pè*.⁶⁷ The contexts are very similar: a number of *saharpi* of (the) *Maktap* are delivered or received. Scheil (1907, 21) identified this *saharpi* as the garment σάρapis claimed by Pollux (VII, 61) to be a *Median* tunic. Hinz accepted this identification (1967, 92) and consequently interpreted *Maktap* as "medisch/neu-Elamisch *Meder* (pl.);" in the EIW. Elsewhere he emphatically stated that the *sarapis* was a Median "Spezialität" (1987, 129).

The argument is clearly circular: *saharpi* must be the *sarapis*, which is a Median garment, and this in turn proves the identification of *Maktap* as "Medians" and thus the interpretation of *saharpi*. Moreover, as we shall see later, there is no compelling reason to believe that the *sarapis/saharpi* was specifically "Median" (it might in fact be Elamite). But even if it were a Median "Spezialität" it would at least be odd that the texts speak of "Meder-Umhänge" and "Umhänge nach Meder-Art" (EIW), for there is no reason for consistently marking a known Median specialty as "Median" (!).

A more serious problem is obviously the etymology of *Makta-* (without the plural marker *-p*). Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian sources indicate "Media" as KUR.*ma-da-a-a*, KUR.*ma-ta-a-a* and variations thereof that all lack the *-k-*. In the Achaemenid royal inscriptions we find Old-Persian *m-a-d*

66. M. Waters (2000, 94) states that there are various groups in the Acropole archive identified by their ethnicity or locale: "Among them are several groups of Iranians, often specifically Persians, but also Medes as well." The accompanying footnote (fn. 89) only discusses a group identified as "Persians." Without specific reference one has to assume that Waters follows Hinz on the *Maktap* (see below). Hinz' interpretation is also followed by Tuplin 1994, 255 and (hesitantly) by Diakonoff 1985b, 23.

67. S 14, 2; 111, 2; 176, 2; 227, 2 (the last one restored). EIW has hw.*ma-ag-dab* (following Scheil's ^{BE}*ma-ag-dap*), apparently to underline the relation with Old Persian *Māda-*. Note that Steve's syllabary (1992, 66) does not recognize a value *dab* for the sign TAB (nor does Hallock 1969, 85) and that EIW elsewhere always transliterates *tap/b* (unless I have overseen cases with *dab*). Following Steve (1988) the sign BAD preceding personal names and groups in the Acropole texts is transcribed as BE throughout the present study.

(*māda*), Elamite ^{AS}*ma-da*, Akkadian *KUR.ma-da-a-a* and Aramaic *mdy*.⁶⁸ It is hard to believe that the name of Media originally had a *-k-* that was still visible in Neo-Elamite, but not in the *older* Neo-Assyrian texts. Nor is it very credible that the form with *-k-* would have disappeared without leaving any trace in any of the languages of the Achaemenid inscriptions and archives. Therefore, it is no great surprise that the *Elamisches Wörterbuch* offers no etymological explanation for *Makt(a)-* (just claiming it to be a Median form): there is no evidence at all that would allow for identification of *Makt(a)-* with *Māda-* and related forms.⁶⁹

II.2.2. Madaka

The second word claimed to mean “Median” is *madaka*. It is spelled as *ma-da-ak*, *ma-da-ak-ka₄*, *ma-da-ka₄* and once as *[ma]-da-ad-da-ak*.⁷⁰ Hinz refuted its interpretation as a (passive) verbal form (see below) and stated that it “einfach das medische Wort **mādaka*- ‘medisch’ wiedergibt” (1987, 129), an interpretation also found in the *Elamisches Wörterbuch*.⁷¹ Now, the case of *madaka* is certainly not “einfach” in the way Hinz meant, if only because implicitly we are led to believe that the (Neo-Elamite) forms *madaka*, *Maktap* and (Achaemenid-Elamite) *Mada* are somehow related. The interpretation asks for a thorough etymological explanation, but Hinz nowhere attempts to give one.

68. For the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian forms see Parpola 1970, 230f. (see also 14, 236); Zadok 1985, 214f.; Brown 1987-90, 619 (the latter states correctly that there are no references to Media or the Medes in Elamite sources, but without discussing the proposals of Scheil and Hinz). Apart from the Achaemenid royal inscriptions we know Media in the Fortification archive as ^{AS}*ma-ad-da* (PFa 28, 9-10; PF-NN 1517, 10), ^{AS}*ma-da* (PFa 28, 9). PF 1262 mentions ^{HAL}*mar-šá-pá[r-r]a-pè* ‘*ma*¹-*da*-pè’ (“Median *maršaparra*-persons”). The fragmentary text PT 1963-4 has *ma-ad-da-ra* in the last legible line, but given the context the interpretation “Median” (ElW s.v.; Vallat 1993, 160) is uncertain at best. Vallat rightly does not accept ^{AS}*ma-taš* as “Media” (Vallat 1993, 177; *contra*: ElW s.v.), as appears from PF-NN 2563 were 69 rams and he-goats are listed as being at the place Mataš (surely the Fortification archive is not concerned with animals in Media). Finally Lambert (1977, 225) hesitantly identified ^{DIS}*ma-ta-^rap*¹ in the Neo-Elamite text Sb 13081 (l. 5) as “les Mèdes(?)”. His doubts are probably right, as the last sign is unclear. Moreover, at the second occurrence of the name (line 12), Lambert’s drawing strongly points to the lecture ^{DIS}*ma-ta-ta*. For a complete overview of “Media” and “Medians” in Achaemenid sources see Vallat 1993, 160f.

69. Scheil (*loc. cit.*) points to the “caractère fugitif de certaines *k*, *g*, en langue anzanite” but it is unclear what he wants to conclude from this precisely. I suppose he takes *Maktap* as the direct precursor of the later *Māda-*, in which the weak *-k-* was no longer heard. This would mean that all Achaemenid forms are derived from an Elamite original or intermediary *Makta-*, but this is historically unlikely (apart from contradicting the evidence from the older Neo-Assyrian sources). Moreover there is little evidence for a weakness of /k/ in Neo-Elamite, certainly in this position. Compare e.g. *kuktu* which occurs very frequently in the Acropole texts, but which is never written **kutu*. The Elamite Fortification archive also provides ample evidence that /k/ was not weak before /t/ or /d/, for example the Elamite name *Saktiti* (variously spelled, but never as **Satiti*). The fact that Old-Persian words starting with the prefix *upa-* could be rendered as *uk-ba-* in Achaemenid-Elamite represents a unique case that has no bearing on the *Maktap* problem (the sign AG was never used to represent Iranian /a/).

70. *ma-da-ak*: S 108, rev. 2; 139, rev. 4; 160, 10°, rev. 2°; 281, 23°; *ma-da-ak-ka₄*: 139: rev. 5-6; *ma-da-ka₄*: 87, 5; 91, 3°; 104, 2; 151, 5; 260, 9; *ma-da-ad-da-ak*: 142, 7-8° (° = restored forms).

71. The interpretation is presented s.v. *ma-da-ak-* etc., but also in lemmata on words related with *madaka*. One such lemma in particular offers a good example of the far-fetched interpretations that occur throughout the ElW. The word *ha-ap(-)hu-sa* from S 139, rev. 5 (2 *haphusa madaka* ...) is interpreted as “Eß-Holz, Löffel” (which in itself is rather uncertain), with the commentary “vermutlich kunstvoll aus Holz geschnitzt als medische Spezialität.”

Moreover, it is *a priori* unlikely that *madaka* could mean “Median” as it is nowhere preceded by the determinatives indicating personal or geographical names and this already made Vallat (1993, 161) reject Hinz’ hypothesis.

With no etymological explanation given, we just have to assume that Hinz took *madaka* to represent *māda-* with the suffix *-ka* that occurs frequently in both Avestan and Old Persian.⁷² Szemerényi (1975, 334) notes that, in the Old Iranian languages, the suffix is used to form “diminutives from nouns or adjectives from adjectives, but not adjectives from nouns.” This implies that **māda-ka-* cannot have been derived from *Māda-*, “Media,” but only from the adjective *Māda-*, “Median.” Thus we would have *Māda-* and *māda-ka-* with exactly the same meaning, whereas the *-ka* suffix normally marks a distinctive meaning. This unexplained oddity is in itself perhaps not enough to reject Hinz’ interpretation, but surely contributes to the doubts raised on this matter. As to the *-ka* suffix, we may furthermore note that at least Old Persian offers no precedent for a *-ka* adjective derived from a geographical designation such as “Median.”⁷³

Secondly, as Vallat noted (see above), *madaka* is never preceded by BE, indicating a person or group (nor is it ever preceded by AŠ, indicating a locale). The determinative is not compulsory, but its consistent absence is certainly remarkable. The best way to demonstrate the problem is to look at the occurrences of “Persians” and “Persian” in the Acropole texts. Out of 14 occurrences only 2 lack the determinative.⁷⁴ S 121, 4 has ^{BE}*za-man-du-iš pār-sir-ra*, where the determinative before the PN *Zamanduš* makes a second one before *Parsirra* redundant.⁷⁵ The same may be true for the second occurrence of *pār-sir ra* without determinative in S 185, 13.⁷⁶ Among the remaining 12 occurrences, the adjectival form ^{BE}*pār-sip-ip-pè* (lit. “[objects] belonging to the Persians”) occurs twice. This form bears a marked contrast to *madaka*: not only does it have the personal determinative BE, but it is also constructed in the way one would expect in Neo-Elamite. In this context we may compare ^{AŠ}*āš-šu-ra-ap-pè*, “Assyrian [things]” (e.g. S 112, 2; see Vallat 1993, 22), this time with the determinative AŠ.⁷⁷ Similarly, we would have expected something like **ma-da-ip-ip-pè* for “Median [things].” Instead, according to Hinz, we find the word *madaka* that not only lacks the determinative, but also is never extended to **ma-da-ka₄-ip-pè* etc. Thus *madaka* would constitute a unique case of an adjective indicating a group without determinative and consistently treated as an indeclinable loanword. These objections, in combination with the problematic nature of the suffixed form **māda-ka-*, make the identification of Elamite *madaka* as “Median” hazardous at best.

Even if the above arguments would not suffice to reject Hinz’ hypothesis, the contexts in which *madaka* occurs seem to exclude the meaning “Median.” Scheil considered *madaka* a “participe passé,”

72. In the PF-texts a personal name, ^{HAL}*ma-da-ka₄* (cf. ^{SAL}*ma-da-ka₄*), occurs (PF-NN 1097; PF-NN 2133) which Hinz (1975, 155) explained as “-ka-Ableitung zu *māda-*, ‘Meder’.” Though the word *madaka* in the Acropole texts is not referred to here, I assume Hinz would explain it in the same way. Note that Gershevitch (1969, 191) has a different explanation for the name (**Hwāda-kā-*, “the desirous”), which was accepted by Mayrhofer 1973, 186.

73. See Kent 1953: 51 for a list of adjectives with *-ka*. Note that *Ākaufaciya-* does not provide a precedent for **mādaka-* as the *-ka* suffix was already part of the original form, the locale **Ākaufa-ka-*.

74. For a complete list of occurrences see Vallat 1993, 210f. On the interpretation of *Parsip* as “Persians,” see below II.2.6.

75. Compare constructions like ^{HAL}*kur-taš (gal ma-ki ip) tur-mi-ra-ip* (“workers, consuming rations, Lycians”) that occur frequently in the Fortification archive.

76. The context is broken, but it seems that the word preceding *pār-sir-ra* was a PN.

77. For the possible difference in references to groups preceded by either AŠ or BE see Vallat 1992b (cf. below II.2.6).

not an adjective to the preceding words (1907, 125). His lexicon does not give a translation, but some tentative interpretations are found in the texts: “teint” (*ibid.*, 75; 93) and “ouvré” (*ibid.*, 97). Jusifov accepted the interpretation as passive participle and proposed “izgotovleno” (“made, produced,” quoted by ElW s.v. *ma-da-ak*). Vallat (1993, 161) also saw *madaka* as a participle, without giving an interpretation.

Perhaps the best example to support the interpretation of *madaka* as a passive participle (*i.e.* *mada+k(a)*) is S 160, 9-10, [...] ^{GIS}šu-kur-ru-um ^{BE}mi-^riš^r-[ka₄-ma] ^rma^r-da-[ak]. The ElW has “x Lanzen für Vahyaskāma, medische,” but in Elamite a PN would hardly have been placed between *šu-kurru* (“spear”) and its corresponding adjective. On the other hand, Elamite places the verb, including passive participles such as *lika* and *daka*, preferably at the end of the sentence. The PN preceding the verb is then logically the person involved in the action. Thus in this case the obvious interpretation is “[x] spears ...ed (for) Miškama.”⁷⁸ The same Miškama occurs on rev. 4-5 as receiving an *urkina*, with the verb *duš* (“he received”) placed at the end of the line, in the same position as *madak*.⁷⁹

In S 108 various goods are distributed. A passage from this text shows how *madak* again is used as participle (lines 8-14):

- 8 1 *tuk-li pu-ur-na*
 9 1 *ku-uk-tu₄ pu-ur-na*
 10 PAP ^{BE}i-ka₄ *du-iš* PA.RU^{MES}-
 11 *ma li-iš-da*
 12 2 ka₄-am-su za-bar-ru^{MES}-*na*
 13 2 KI+MIN *si-hi-kak*^{MES}-*na*
 14 2 ANŠE.KUR.RA^{MES} *ma-da-ak*

In lines 8-11 two commodities are received and delivered for (?) mules (PA.RU^{MES}-*ma li-iš-da*). The three following lines form a parallel statement attesting to 2×2 commodities for (?) two horses. In the case of the mules we have a specified agent (Ika) and consequently two active verbal forms occur. In the case of the horses no agent is specified and the passive participle *madak* occurs instead of an active form. The frequent connection of *kamsu* with horses and with *zabarru* (cf. Sum. *zabar* “copper”) indicates that it must belong to the horse’s harness (cf. ElW s.v. *qa-am-su*: “Trense”). Thus the following provisional interpretation is suggested:

- 1 *tukli* [made] of *pur*
 1 *kuktu* [made] of *pur*
 The total Ika received; he
 delivered it for (?) mules.
 2 harness-items [made] of bronze
 2 *ditto*, [made] of *sihikak*
 [These] were *mada*-ed for (?) 2 horses.

78. Note that the same construction is repeated in the next two lines (rev. 1-2): 1 ^{GIS}šu-kur-[ru-um] ^{AN}ZIK-^rx^r[...
ma]-da-ak.

79. Rev. 4-5: 1 *ur-ki-na kar-su-ka₄* ^{BE}mi-iš-ka₄-ma *du-iš* (“one painted *urkina* Miškama received”).

At the present state of knowledge of the Elamite lexicon a more specific interpretation of *madaka* is hazardous and would at least require a much more detailed study of all the contexts of *madaka*.⁸⁰ But even a quick survey of the occurrences of *madaka* reveals that the interpretation as passive participle, in contrast to the interpretation as adjective, works in all instances. This, in combination with the objections raised above, will suffice to reject the meaning “Median.”

II.2.3. Mada

A final possibility for a finding a “Median” in the Acropole texts is the person named as ^{BE}*ma-da* in S 94, rev. 2. This Mada is one of twelve people who receive *tukli* and *kuktu* of various types. The other 11 persons all seem to be identified by their personal names, which indicates that we also have to consider ^{BE}*ma-da* as such. Thus, though the name is formally identical to the designation ^{HA1}*ma-da* that we find in Achaemenid Elamite for “Media,” we should not be too confident in interpreting our name as “the Mede.”⁸¹ Perhaps the name represents an abbreviated form of an (Iranian) name like ^{BE}*ma-da-bar-na* (e.g. PF 1203) and does not refer *directly* to Media.⁸² On the other hand, the occurrence of the name is obviously of interest for our discussion of Medes and Elamites, particularly as the group of twelve persons, that includes our Mada, is labelled as ^{BE}*pu-hu sa-ma-tip* (rev. 11), literally “Samatian boys,” i.e. “inhabitants of Samati” (cf. Vallat 1996b: “citoyens samatéens”). Samati was probably located to the north of Khūzestān as appears from the inscriptions on several objects from the “Kalmā-karra hoard” (on which see below II.3).

Regarding the occurrence of “Medes” or “Median” in the Acropole texts the conclusions reached thus far can be summarized as follows. The explanation of *Maktap* as “Medians” lacks the linguistic evidence it certainly requires. Both earlier and later designations for “Media” and “Medes” contradict the explanation. Secondly, *madaka* appears to be a passive participle, not an adjective denoting “Median.” The consistent absence of determinatives and the lack of a convincing explanation of the element *-ka* contribute to the rejection of the interpretation as adjective. Thirdly, the person called *Mada* represents an isolated case and its occurrence in a list of personal names does not provide con-

80. A few points relevant to a more detailed analysis may be noted here. 1) The form *[ma]-da-ad-da-^fak¹* (restoration convincingly defended by Scheil 1907, 128) shows a reduplication of the element *-da* (the form is unlikely to be a “Fehlschreibung” as the ElW wants). This reduplication normally occurs in the first syllable of a verbal root, such as *tallu-* becoming *tatallu-* (see Grilhot 1987, 32; Khacikjan 1998, 13). Thus, this reduplication may indicate that we actually have a compound verb *ma+da-*. This may be confirmed by the occurrence of the form *man-da-ka₄* in S 38, rev. 6 that may be related to *ma-da-ka₄* (note that the ElW curiously has no problem in explaining *mandaka* as a passive participle!). If *mandaka* and *madaka* are indeed related, we may isolate the auxiliary element *ma(n)-*, that is well known in Elamite and that denotes durative action (Grilhot - Vallat 1975; see also Tucker 1998, 184-193). The second element of *ma(n)daka-* in that case would be the verbal root *-da*, “to send.” The auxiliary element *-ma(n)-* preceding the verbal base would, however, be unprecedented in Elamite (though *ma-lak* in EKI 74, 24 may provide another example). Normally, in analogy to forms like *sitmaka*, one would expect **damaka* (cf. PN *damanna*, “PN sending,” a construction that occurs frequently in Achaemenid Elamite). 2) The form *daka* (“sent, deposited”) occurs several times in the Acropole texts and a number of contexts are quite similar to those of *madaka*. Compare e.g. S 114, 4-5, [objects] *kur-mīn* ^{BE}*ku-ud-da-ka₄-ka₄-^fna¹ da-ka₄* with 87, 2-5, [objects] *kur-mīn* ^{BE}*ku-ud-da-ka₄-ka₄ uk-ku lak-ki ma-da-ka₄*. 3) It should be noted that the word separation is not always certain and that in some cases *-ma-* may belong to the preceding word (x-*ma daka*). Thus, in S 108, 14 (quoted above) one may read: 2 ANŠE.KUR.RA^{MEŠ} *-ma da-ak*, “2 are sent for 2 horses,” as F. Vallat proposes (pers. communication).

81. Cf. the interpretation of the ElW: “medisch māda *Medes*.” See also Cameron 1948, 24 fn. 2.

82. The name ^{BE}*ha-ma* on S 94, rev. 4 may be an abbreviated name as well.

clusive evidence for an interpretation as “the Mede.” Generally, it would be surprising that *Makṭap*, *madaka* and *Mada* should all at the same time refer to Medes and Median (as Hinz’ publications implicitly assume) while at the same time this abundant variety of forms is completely absent in Neo-Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid sources.

II.2.4 Sarapis

One further issue that calls for attention is the product *saharpi* (*sa-har-pi*, *sa-ar-pi*, *sa-ri-pi*) that was already mentioned in the context of the *Makṭap* and that has 26 occurrences in the Acropole texts.⁸³ A similar word, *sarapiš* (*sa-ra-pi-iš*), occurs twice in the Fortification archive (PF 1150, 5; PF 1947, 46). Scheil (1907, 21) first proposed the connection with Greek σάραπις (described as a kind of tunic).⁸⁴ Hinz (1967, 92; 1969, 72-74; 1970, 434f.; 1975, 239; 1987, 129; cf. ElW s.v.), following this suggestion, saw *saharpi* as a loanword from Old-Persian **θārapiš* and insisted that the *sarapis* was a Median “Spezialität.” Now, the similarity of *saharpi* or *sarapiš* and σάραπις is indeed striking, but there are a number of problems surrounding the word both in Elamite, Iranian and Greek. Although the following discussion does not pretend to clarify all these problems, I at least hope to show that the *saharpi* provides no evidence at all for “der kulturelle Einfluß der Meder auf Elam” (Hinz 1987, 129).

The Greek sources are not particularly helpful in addressing the question of the *sarapis*. A number of modern commentators refer to the σάραπις as if the word occurs frequently and has a clear meaning in Greek.⁸⁵ In fact only four texts mention the word, three of which seem to originate from one single source, the fourth being of little relevance. The rather slim basis for σάραπις in Greek and the possibility of a different form *σαράκ- are treated in the appendix.

What do the Greek sources tell us about the nature of the σάραπις? Ctesias (quoted by Hesychius) apparently considered it a Persian garment (as Democritus implies as well), whereas Pollux calls it “the garment of the Medes” (see the appendix for references). Much weight was credited to the latter by Scheil (1907, 21) and Hinz (esp. 1969, 72), who both considered the garment to be typical Median. The reliance on Pollux (and not on Ctesias) is arbitrary. Moreover, it is well-known that most classical authors apply the term “Median” rather loosely (see e.g. Tuplin 1994).⁸⁶ A similar case is presented by the σαράβαρα (prob. “trousers”) that are variously described as Scythian, Parthian, Persian and Median (Knauer 1954, 113). The Greek sources do not provide any firm evidence as to the Median nature of the *sarapis*.⁸⁷

83. *sa-har-pi*: 14, 1; 23, 17; 34, 6; 92, rev. 4°; 100, rev. 2°; 105, 5; 111, 1; 134, 6; 147, 15; 151, 4; 163, 3; 176, 1; 177, 6; 179, 3, 12°, rev. 3°; 181, 8°; 184, 2°; 227, 1; 251, 5°; 281, rev. 16; *sa-ar-pi*: 38, rev. 3°; 91, 2; 218, 4°; 258, 1°; *sa-ri-pi* (Scheil reads “sa-ri(sic)-pi”): 91, 6 (° = restored forms).

84. On the circular argument see above II.2.1. Scheil’s proposal was accepted by Widengren, without further discussion, in his treatment of the Iranian riding costume (1956, 238).

85. An extreme example is Strommenger (1994, 320) who states that “Der Sarapis war ein Art Kasack mit bunten Bruststeinsatz, wie Herodot ausdrücklich berichtet.” In fact Herodotus never mentions the σάραπις at all.

86. Hinz’ argument, that in Pollux the *Median* σάραπις must be distinguished from the *Persian* garment that is treated in the preceding paragraph, is problematic as the lexicographer does not offer a systematic treatment of both the Persian and Median garments. Moreover, what is described by Pollux as *Persian* was explained by Calmeyer (1988, 48) as the *Median* dress, which would thus completely invalidate the argument.

87. I hesitate to refer to Bittner (1987, 182f.) who has the curious idea that the wool of which the *sarapeis* are made provides “ein deutliches Zeichen dafür, daß es sich bei ihnen um ein medisches Produkt handelt.” The statement is “supported” by the reference to the great amount of sheep that the Median satrapy paid to the Achaemenid court (Strabo II, 13, 8). Apparently, Bittner thinks that the Medes were the only people with significant herds of small cattle (!). He could have known better even by a quick survey of the Fortification

The evidence from the Acropole texts is equally inconclusive as to the Median origin of the *sarapis* or to its character in general. As we have seen, Hinz saw *sa-har-pi*, *sa-ar-pi* and *sa-ri-pi* as representations of an Iranian loanword **θārapīš* (Hinz 1975, 239; EIW s.v. *sa-har-pi*). The first problem is obviously that this “etymology” fails to explain the *-h-* in the form *saharpi*, although this form (with 21 out of a total of 26 occurrences) is obviously the regular one. In fact, Hinz’ proposal rests solely on Greek statements on the supposed Median (or at least Iranian) character of the garment. Assuming that the word must therefore be Iranian, Hinz reconstructed how it would have appeared in Old Persian, but he has no external linguistic evidence to support the form **θārapīš*.⁸⁸

If we want to approach the problem on more secure methodological grounds we should obviously not start with the relatively late and secondary Greek sources but rather with the Acropole texts. The form *saharpi* is in itself certainly not immediately recognisable as a loanword. The ending *-pi* could be the normal Elamite plural marker.⁸⁹ As we have seen there are a few occurrences of forms that lack the *-h-* (*sa-ar-pi*, *sa-ri-pi*) which is explained by the general weakening of the /h/ in Neo-Elamite (cf. Grillot 1987, 10; Vallat 1996a, 387). We may compare forms like *tah(i)šda* and *duh(i)šda* that still occur in the Acropole texts, but have been completely replaced by *dašda* and *dušda* in Achaemenid Elamite. Not surprisingly, therefore, we find the form *sa-ra-pi-iš* in the Fortification texts from Persepolis.⁹⁰ There is nothing in the various forms of the word that clearly indicates an Iranian origin.

The contexts in which *saharpi* occurs are inconclusive as to its origin and generally do not allow identifying the object or product. We find *saharpi* with *tukli* and *kuktu* that may be textile products (though this remains uncertain), but also in contexts where bows (^{GIŠ}_{PAN}^{MEŠ}), arrow-shafts (^{GIŠ}_{GI}^{MEŠ}), spears (*šukurru*), bronze (*zabarru*), horses and possibly doors (^{GIŠ}.IK.MEŠ) are mentioned. Unfortu-

texts. Moreover his source on the woollen *sarapis* is Democritus of Ephesus (see the appendix below), but that author actually does not say anything about the fabric from which the *sarapis* was made.

88. Compare the critical remarks by Schmitt (in Bittner 1987, 181 fn. 2) regarding this “etymology” of *sarapis*. My colleague J. Tavernier (Leuven) kindly informs me that *-h-* in *saharpi* may be related to a scribal practise in Achaemenid Elamite, where, in the case of Iranian loanwords, *-h-* indicates that the preceding vowel is long (cf. the discussion in Tavernier 2002, 230). This practise is not used in consequent way, however, and cannot be assumed for Neo-Elamite without further evidence. In any case, this explanation of the *-h-* (not mentioned by Hinz) can only be used if there would be certainty about the Iranian background of the word.
89. Hypothetically *sah-pi* and *sa-ah-pi* could be related to *sa-har-pi*. Both forms occur in the Acropole texts (86, 1; 134, 5; 200, 2; 261, 2; 286, 5; 121, rev. 4; 147, rev. 12) in contexts that are similar to those of *saharpi*. A certain distinction between *saharpi* and *sahpi* must be assumed as both words sometimes occur in the same text. One is tempted to analyse the words as roots *sah-+r+p* and *sah-+p* respectively. The problem is, however, that inanimate objects are not likely to be suffixed with the delocutive suffix *-r* of the animate class (at least not directly behind the root). Compare also *sa-ah-nu-ka₄* (*sah-+nu+k?*; S 154, 5°, 6, 15°, 18°) and perhaps Middle-Elamite *sah-ri* (several occurrences in texts of Untaş-Napiriša; see EIW s.v. for references). Hinz interpreted *sahpi* as “Hülle, Überzug (?)” or “Mantel (?)” (Hinz 1967, 97; EIW s.v. *sah-pi*). (° = restored forms).
90. The final *-š* in *sa-ra-pi-iš* is frequently applied to nouns in Persepolis Elamite. Hallock regarded it as a general ending for words considered by the Elamite scribes to be of Iranian origin, even when those words did not have a nominative or even a root on *-š* (Hallock 1969, 9f.; see also Gershevitch 1990; Tavernier 2002, 314-318). In view of the many uncertainties surrounding the Iranian words in Achaemenid Elamite caution is, however, necessary. Very probably the Elamite scribes in Persepolis were bilingual and had surely been affected by Iranian culture in many ways. To describe them as “Elamites” *strictu sensu* and to credit them with a perfect ear for Iranian words may be too much. *Halmarrīš* (“fortress”) and *zippiš* (PF 2018, 46; compare *zippi*) may indeed be words of Elamite origin with an (added) final *-š*. Given these complications the final *-š* in *sarapiš* provides no secure evidence as to the Iranian background of the word.

nately, our limited knowledge of Elamite does not allow us to move much beyond that. Hinz (1974, 74) expressed his surprise at finding that his “medisches Kleidungsstück” was not restricted to people, but was also used for horses and even as a kind of curtains.⁹¹ In fact, the relevant texts are very unclear on whether *saharpi* were actually used for horses or even doors (i.e. as curtains).⁹² Given our imperfect understanding of the Neo-Elamite lexicon it may be better to admit that the function of the *saharpi* must remain elusive. It can be stated with confidence, however, that the contexts in which the word occurs do not immediately indicate a Median (or Iranian) background.

We have now reached the last source for the *sarapis*, the Fortification archive from Persepolis in which a *sa-ra-pi-iš* occurs twice. The first text (PF 1150) states:

34 bar of grain, allotment from Miturna, Miššabaduš received, he is/will be *zippi*-ing it (as/for) 34 *sarapiš*, at the place Tenukku.⁹³

An obvious relation exists between the 34 bar of grain and the 34 *sarapiš* and this relation is expressed by *zibbamanra* (“he is/will be making/doing *zip-pi*”).⁹⁴ Miššabaduš appears in a total of eight texts, all involving the receipt of grain or flour. In four texts Miššabaduš is described as *zibbamanra* either *sarapiš*, *paman*, *tupte* or *pirrayaš*. Hinz interpreted all these words as (parts of) garments, but the evidence is slight.⁹⁵ He also explained *zibbamanra* as “ein (regelmäßig) nähender.” There is no evidence, however, to support the meaning “to sew” for *zibba*-. Undoubtedly, *zibbamanra* is related to

91. “Sie konnten nicht nur von Menschen getragen werden, sondern sogar von Pferden; ja selbst als Türvorhänge im Königspalast fanden diese medische Textilien Verwendung. Demnach muß es sich beim Sarapis um einen vielseitig benutzbaren ‘Umhang’ gehandelt haben.” Given Hinz’ opinion that the *sarapis* is a Median garment, this almost seems to imply that the Elamites did not know how to handle the “Medische Spezialität” properly!

92. S 14 reads: 3 *sa-har-pi*^{BE} *ma-ak-tap-na šà-ma*^{GIŠ_{IK}MES} *-ma li-ka₄*. Hinz’ interpretation of the passage (1987, 129 fn. 11) was: “drei Vorhänge nach Meder-Art für den Palast für Türen ausgehändigt.” Note that Hinz reads *šà-ma* as *é-ma* (“für den Palast,” see EIW s.v. *sa-har-pi*), but that value cannot be accepted for the sign ŠA in Elamite (see Bianchi 1986; cf. Steve 1992, 157). Secondly, as we have seen *Maktap* is not likely to mean “Medes.” Thirdly, *GIŠ_{IK}MES* *-ma* means “at the door” rather than “for the door” (expect *GIŠ_{IK}MES* *-na*). Thus the following interpretation can be given: “3 *saharpi* from the *Makta*-people, at hand (?), delivered at the gate(s).” The two texts (S 34 and 100) mentioning horse(s) are not explicit about the relation between *saharpi* and the horse. In S 100, rev. 2 *sa-¹har-¹pi* ANŠE.¹KUR.RA^{MES₁} is interpreted by Hinz as “Pferdendecke,” but the context is unclear and one would have expected *saharpi* ANŠE.KUR.RA^{MES} *-na*. S 34 mentions a total of 8 *saharpi* for/from 2 named individuals and 6 horses *tukkašdape*. The latter may not be “*tukkašba*-horses” but “horse riders” or some similar designation.

93. 34 ŠE.BAR^{MES} *kur-mín*^{HAL} *mi-tur-na-na*^{HAL} *mi-iš-šá-ba-du-iš* [d]u-iš-da 34 *sa-ra-pi-iš zib-ba-man-ra*^{AŠ} *te-in-ukku*.

94. The second text (PF 1947, 46) is similar, but with flour. In the relevant passage a certain amount of flour is received by [x], followed by: *sa-ra-pi-iš*^{AŠ} [*rák-k*]_{a₄}-an *zib-ba-man-r*[a ...] (“he is/will be *zippi*-ing it as/for *sarapiš* at the place Rakkan”).

95. *Paman* is explained as “(Kleidung-)Futter,” apparently on the basis of S 32, 2 where *kuktu* are described as *pamanka-na*. The context is rather unclear. Note forms like *pa-me-ka₄* (MDP 3, 5, said of an object made by a blacksmith), *ba-ma-ik-ka₄*? (DNb-elam. 9:39 in broken context), *pa-ma-nu-ia(-)ka₄*?-ra²¹ (PF 1017: Bakdadda the “*pamanuya*-maker” gave flour rations to horsemen), *ba-¹ma²-kaš²¹* (PF-NN 2173, 34 *bamakaš* were transported to Persepolis, Ašbaturda the beer-brewer received it; compare the 34 *bamakaš* to the 34 *sarapiš* in PF 1150). For *tupte* the lexicon does not offer anything either to support or to reject the interpretation as garment. The form *pir²-ra²¹-ia-āš* is uncertain. The EIW is probably right in assuming that it is Iranian, but nothing suggests its interpretation as a textile product.

the frequently used *zippi(n)*.⁹⁶ The latter denotes a certain kind of extra rations in the PF-texts (as the ElW agrees); a complete change of its meaning just by the suffix *-ma(n)* is not very likely. Note that three additional texts (out of the eight concerning Miššabaduš) relate the receipt of grain and Miššabaduš' production of *kurrim* ("food" or more specifically "cereal products").⁹⁷ Furthermore, a certain [...]yadda is said to produce *kurrim* which is immediately followed by *tupte zibbamanra* ("he is *zippi*-ing [it] as/for *tupte*;" cf. above).⁹⁸ We may complete our dossier with texts concerning Karkiš (*paman zibbamanra*) and Uštana (*atman zibbašda*, "he *zippi*-ed as/for *atman*"). Table 1 presents all the relevant texts (in chronological order).

PF-text	seal	commodity	recipient	action by recipient		date
NN-1920	1*	<i>sawur</i> (-wine), 20 marriš	Karkiš	<i>paman</i>	<i>zibbamanra</i>	XII 17
1947	/	flour, x bar	[...]	<i>sarapiš</i>	<i>zibbamanra</i>	21
NN-1303	4*	grain, 90 bar	Miššabaduš	<i>pirrayaš</i>	<i>zibbamanra</i>	I 22
NN-1779	1*	grain, 100 bar	Miššabaduš	making <i>kurrim</i>		XI 22
1149	67 + 1094	grain, 11.5 bar	Uštana	<i>atman</i>	<i>zibbašda</i>	22
NN-2430	[x]	grain, 30 bar	Uštana	<i>atman</i>	<i>zibbašda</i>	[x+20]
1150	1*	grain, 34 bar	Miššabaduš	34 <i>sarapiš</i>	<i>zibbamanra</i>	III 23
0409	1*	grain, 100 bar	Miššabaduš	making <i>kurrim</i>		IV 23
1151	1*	grain, 15 bar	Miššabaduš	<i>tupte</i>	<i>zibbamanra</i>	X 23
NN-0747	1*	grain, x+10 ⁹ bar	[...]yadda	making <i>kurrim</i> <i>tupte</i>	<u>and</u> <i>zibbamanra</i>	X 23
0410	1*	grain, 100 bar	Miššabaduš	making <i>kurrim</i>		XII 23
Fort. 1638	x*	grain, 15 bar	Miššabaduš	<i>paman</i>	<i>zibbamanra</i>	I 25

Table 1. Texts on *sarapiš zibbamanra* and related actions.

One of the things that appears from this table is that the amounts of grain, issued monthly, are rather high and cannot represent normal rations. The ElW (s.v. *zib-ba-man-ra*) considers the amounts to represent payments as appears from the translation (PF 1150) "er näht [dafür] 34 (medische) Umhänge." It would be surprising, however, to find Miššabaduš in the role of tailor, the next month as food producer and to see him change his occupation two more times in the same year (23).⁹⁹ As for Karkiš and Uštana the situation is more complex, as they are high ranking officials who occur relatively frequently in the Fortification texts in a variety of contexts (including food production). If the

96. The relation between *zib-ba-man-ra* and *zip-pi* is supported by such phrases as *zibba-zibba ha-huttašda* ("he made *zippi*;" PF 1148) and *zippi huttuk* ("zippi was made"; PF-NN 1705) or *atman zibbašda* ("[x received grain], he *zippi*-ed it as/for *atman*;" PF 1149; PF-NN 2430). In the latter case the context is very similar to *sarapiš* (etc.) *zippamanra*. In PF-NN 0421 *ha-^rzip-pi^r-ma-ak* ("it was being *zippi*-ed?") occurs in a broken context. For the suffix *-ma(n)* cf. above fn. 80.

97. PF 0409, PF 0410 and PF-NN 1779: *Miššabaduš ... kurrim ha-huddamanra*. The 8th text mentioning Miššabaduš relates that he delivered flour *ramiya* at the place Tandari (PF-NN 1812). This refined (?) flour was possibly one of the products of his work.

98. PF-NN 0747: [...]yadda ... *kurrim ha-huddamanra ak tupte zibbamanra*.

99. There is no reason to assume the existence two or more people named Miššabaduš. Although seal PFS 1* is very frequent in the archive, it would be too much to consider its consequent use in year 23 for texts with a Miššabaduš as mere coincidence.

individuals named here are the same Karkiš and Uštana who occur elsewhere, it is not perceivable that they could be described as making textiles as the ElW suggests.¹⁰⁰ If anything, the above table clearly establishes a firm link between the receipt of high quantities of grain, flour and *sawur* on one hand, and the production of *kurrim* or the *zippi*-ing of *sarapiš* etc.

In the absence of conclusive positive evidence identifying *paman*, *atman* and *tupte* as textile products and with the lexicon pleading against *zibbamanra* as “one who is sewing,” the complete textile hypothesis rests on the interpretation of *sarapis*. As we have seen, the Susa archive does not allow any conclusions as to the nature of this product and thus we have to rely on the rather slim and problematic Greek evidence. I do not want to claim that the objections raised above will be enough to refute the traditional identification of *saharpi-sarapiš*-σάραις, but it is clear that the matter is rather problematic. At the very least we should conclude that any evidence on a Median background is absent. Moreover, even an Iranian background cannot securely be established at present.¹⁰¹

II.2.5. No “Medes” in Susa

There is no reason to suppose that the people called *Makṭap* or the items qualified as *madaka* refer to “Medes” or “Median” respectively. As far as we can tell there are no products mentioned in the Acropole texts that would have been regarded as specifically Median, as was proposed for the (possible) occurrence of the *sarapis*. In fact, the available evidence does not allow identifying any explicit reference to Media, and if Medes were present in Susa, they were not labelled as such by the Susa administration. This conclusion has obvious repercussions for Hinz’ opinion of extensive Median cultural influence in Susa, which he considered to be much more consequential than the Persian influence (1987, 129). The contrary appears to be the case: whereas *Parsip* (even if not exactly “Persians;” cf. below II.2.6) are directly referred to 14 times, the texts fail to identify “Medes” or “Median” objects explicitly.

It hardly needs to be stated that the absence of an unequivocal label “Mede” does not automatically imply that individuals that we would consider as Medes were absent from Susa, nor does it exclude the exchange of goods with regions where Medes lived. The absence of such a label does, however, cast some fresh doubts on the idea of a Median domination of Elam. Zawadzki (1988a, 138-143) posed this idea, assuming that the Elamite attack on Babylonia (probably mentioned in the Nebuchadnezzar Chronicle; see Grayson 1975a, no. 5, rev. 16-20) in 596 BC could not have been an independent action, as Elam would have been too weak after Assurbanipal’s campaigns in the 640s. From this he inferred that Elam was forced into military action by Media, acknowledging Median overlordship.

100. If Miššabaduš, Uštana and Karkiš were merely supervising the production of textiles, their work-force would have been identified in at least some of the texts. The round figures of the received grain contradict the idea that it was intended as payments to such a workforce.

101. It is possible that the word for *sarapis* still exists in Persian, but (certainly in the absence of convincing etymologies) that does not guarantee an Iranian origin. In fact, various words have been proposed, the most convincing of which may be NP *sarāpā* (cf. Schmitt apud Bittner 1987, 181 fn. 2). The word is cited in the dictionary of Junker-Alavi (1947) as *sar-ā-pā* (i.e. with discontinuous spelling in Persian), meaning “von Kopf bis Fuß; ganz, gänzlich, völlig” or “Ehrenkleid.” It is not clear which of the two is the older meaning (but note *sar-ā-sar* “von Anfang bis Ende”). Moreover not *sarapiš*, but **sarāvāra* (MP *sārvār*; see Knauer 1954, 115) may be related to NP *sarāpā*. Compare Russian *serafan* (“female dress” or “male kaftan”), that Widengren (1956, 238 fn. 2) and Hinz (1969, 72) adduce in their interpretation of *sarapiš* as an Iranian word, and that was first discussed in this context by Rost (1897, 80). It appears, however, that *serafan* is indeed a loan word from Persian (via Turkotartaran) but that it goes back to the late form *sarāpā* (so Vasmer 1979, 579f.) and therefore does not add anything new to our discussion.

Furthermore, combining Jeremiah's prophecy on the breaking of Elam's bow (Jer. 49:34-38) and Ezekiel's statement that Elam was subjugated by other kings (Ezek. 32:24-25), Zawadzki supposed that Elam's position deteriorated even further into a complete loss of independence after 584 BC (*i.e.* after the Median-Lyidian war) and remained a Median territory until the conquest of Cyrus. A similar conclusion (but with the acceptance of an earlier Babylonian domination as well) was reached by Dandamayev, who again relied heavily on biblical sources (Dandamayev - Lukonin 1989, 58-61).

The idea of a Median domination finds little support in the sources. Needless to say, the passages from Jeremiah and Ezekiel are particularly difficult to interpret and are probably not intended as precise historical statements (certainly not in the case of Ezekiel 32:24-25). Moreover, the assumption of a complete loss of Elamite political and military power after Assurbanipal's campaigns finds no support in the archaeological and textual evidence from Susa (cf. above I.1). Note that both the biblical and Babylonian sources nowhere refer to Media's overlordship over Elam in unequivocal terms.¹⁰² More important, textual and archaeological evidence from Iran does not lend any support to a Median domination of Khūzestān. For these reasons the idea has met much scepticism (Potts 1999, 294f., 311; Briant 1996, 33, 907; Waters 2000, 103f.). Now that "Medes" apparently do not occur in the Acropole texts (a vital source not even referred to by Zawadzki or Dandamayev), one may confidently infer that Median overlordship, let alone complete control, is highly unlikely.¹⁰³

II.2.6 Iranians in Susa

At this point in our discussion it may be useful to place the Acropole archive in the wider context of Elamite-Iranian acculturation. As was mentioned before (see II.1), the archive is a real Fundgrube in this respect.¹⁰⁴ Compared to the insights to be gained on this subject, the search for explicit labels like "Mede" is clearly less promising. It should be noted that even if such a label occurred, it would not be very informative, as it would be hard to define its precise implications. Similarly, we cannot automatically equate *Parsip* with the Persians, as we know them in the Achaemenid period. The word may indeed refer to a specific Iranian group, but it is equally possible that it indicates the inhabitants of Fārs in a more general way (perhaps replacing older "Anšan"). It is significant in this respect that whenever *Parsip* occurs, it apparently has to be specified by the reference to a locale or a group.¹⁰⁵

102. A passage from Jeremiah seems to imply the contrary: among Media's allies against Babylon only Urartu, Manna and the Scythians are mentioned (Jer. 51:27-28). Zawadzki tries to solve the problem with another passage from Jeremiah (Jer. 50:21), in which an anonymous enemy is incited to attack the land of Marathaim and the inhabitants of Peqod. Though this may refer to areas SW of Babylonia, it is by no means a clear reference to the Neo-Elamite kingdom, and even if it were, I cannot see how it would support Median overlordship. Zawadzki also invokes Isaiah 21:2 where Elam as well as Media oppose Babylon, but the context does not have to be the same and certainly does not imply overlordship of one of the parties.

103. Even if one supposes a high date (before 600) for the Acropole texts, explicit signs of growing Median domination should have been visible. It is not feasible in any way that Persians, who clearly exerted no power over the Susian authorities, would have been frequently mentioned while the Median overlords would not have been mentioned at all.

104. The archive is used in this way by a limited number of studies. See Scheil 1907 *passim*; Briant 1984a, 94f.; Hinz 1987; Vallat 1992b; 1996a, 391; Potts 1999, 299; Waters 2000, 95-98.

105. *Parsip* occurs only once without specification (S 246, 7), but the context is broken. In other cases it is specified by ^{AS}za-am-pè-gir-ip, ^{AS}hu-ri-ip or ^{AS}da-at-ia-na-ip (the first and the last may be Iranian, *Hurip* is probably Elamite; see ElW s.vv.; Hinz 1987, 128 and cf. below). *Parsirra* occurs without such a specification. Sometimes it occurs after a personal name (see above II.2.2). In some cases, where it is used independently, it may actually be a PN itself (e.g. 47, rev. 2 and 97, 6). See Vallat 1993, 210f. for complete references.

Our insight in Elamite-Iranian acculturation is not in the first place affected by the presence or absence of “Persians” or “Medes,” but by the attestation of individuals and groups with Iranian names as well as Iranian loanwords in the Acropole texts.¹⁰⁶

To start with the personal names: it has been estimated that roughly ten percent of the Susa onomasticon consists of Iranian names.¹⁰⁷ Though there is still want of a systematic examination of the relevant contexts, it is clear even at first sight that these Iranians are thoroughly involved in the recorded transactions and occur side by side with individuals bearing Elamite names.¹⁰⁸ Remarkably, an Iranian name appears in the inscription of a seal used on several Acropole tablets (Vallat 1995a). Possibly even Kuddakaka, an important palace official in Susa and the prime authority occurring in the Acropole texts, had an Iranian name (Zadok 1983, 117f.; 2002, 142; *contra*: Hinz 1987, 127f.). Note also that a Babylonian ration-list, dating to 592/1 BC, mentions two individuals with Iranian-looking names who are designated as “Elamites” (Zadok 1976a, 62).¹⁰⁹ Thus, the interaction between the Elamites and Iranians is firmly established as an important factor in the late Neo-Elamite period (cf. Briant 1984a, 94f.). A problematic aspect of the Susa onomasticon is the group of names with a specific structure that *may* be recognized as belonging to the Median dialect (Hinz 1987, 128).¹¹⁰ It should be stressed again that these names do not automatically imply that the individuals who bore them actually were Medes. The use of Median words in Old-Persian inscriptions and the presence of a fair amount of Median names in the Fortification archive indicates that the “Median names” in Susa may in fact have been transmitted by the southern Iranians. Generally, the matter is further complicated as the linguistic evidence for the Median dialect is slim and the idea of a significant distinction of Median and Old Persian remains disputed.¹¹¹ For the moment it seems advisable to accept only that some of the Iranian names in Susa may represent elements from northern dialects.

Secondly, many of the Acropole texts identify certain groups, some of which have Iranian names. Either AŠ or BE precedes these groups, a variation explained by Vallat (1992b) as a distinction between groups named after a locale (such as AŠ^{AŠ}āš-šu-ra-ap and AŠ^{AŠ}a-a-pír-ip-pè) and pastoralist tribes named after a person (BE^{BE}la-lin-taš-pè-ip-pa, BE^{BE}ap-pa-la-a-a-pè-ip-pa, BE^{BE}un-sa-ak-pè). Unfortunately, the dis-

106. The Iranian loanwords in the Acropole texts certainly demand more attention, but given their problematic nature they cannot not be discussed in the present study. I merely refer to *ir-mat⁷-tam₆* (**rmāta*-?), *tam₆-ši-um* (**ḍauçya*-/**ḍauça*-?) and *ka₄-ti-um* (*gāthu*-?). Note that the Acropole texts also refer to certain (Elamite) objects and institutions that bear a direct relevance to Achaemenid culture such as the *apti*, “bow-and-arrow case”: a specific kind of container that found widespread use in the Achaemenid period.

107. See Hinz 1987, 128. For a list of names see esp. Mayrhofer 1979b, 138f. and Zadok 1984b, 388. On the name *Mitra* in S 135, 4 see Schmitt 1978, 415 and Mayrhofer 1979b, 139.

108. A relatively unproblematic text is S 135 that records the transaction of a number of *tukli* to a *Lalintaš-pe-ra* (“man of the Lalintaš-people”), to Kutur-ter, Mitra, Matakša, Anni son of Kilu(ra) and Kutur son of Huban-šupir. Of these Mitra and Matakša may be Iranians (cf. Mayrhofer 1978, 139).

109. The same ration-list (*Babylon* 28178, published by Weidner 1939) mentions a Madbannu who is designated as “Mede” (Zadok 1976, 66), but unfortunately the administrative document does not give a real clue as to Median-Elamite contacts in this period. Zadok (*ibid.* 74) mentions a text, dating to the reign of Cambyses, that mentions a *Ni-ri-a-bi-ig-nu* (Iranian **Narya-bigna*) who is also designated as “Elamite.”

110. In this context I refer once more to Scheil (1907, iii-iv) who regarded the BE^{BE}ra-ka₄-pè-ip-pa and the BE^{BE}ra-ka₄-pè-ra in the Acropole texts as “Ragéens de Médie.” Probably these names do not refer, however, to the place Rakkan or Ragā (modern Ray) near Tehrān, but to the place Rak(k)an that occurs frequently in the Fortification texts and that (on the basis of the contexts in which it occurs) clearly must be located within the area covered by this archive (excluding a location in Media). See Sumner 1986, 23ff. and, for occurrences, Vallat 1993, 227.

111. See Briant 1996, 35f., 908 with references, to which one may add Lecoq (1983 and 1997, 46 50) and Schmitt (this volume).

tion may not be that precise. It is a well-known fact that tribes are unlikely to be exclusively nomadic; they often contain sedentary elements living in one or several tribal centres. Thus a locale may serve as the basis for a tribal name as well.¹¹² Conversely, some groups preceded by BE seem not to refer to an eponymous individual but to a locale.¹¹³ Moreover, some of those names that do refer to eponymous persons may in fact primarily indicate direct subordination rather than a tribal organization.¹¹⁴ Still, notwithstanding the complexity of the matter, Vallat's idea certainly finds some support in the Acropole texts. The possible occurrence of pastoralist tribes should obviously be studied in relation to the broader picture of the Neo-Elamite period in which contacts must have occurred between the sedentary zones (*i.e.* the Susiana and the Fārs/Khūzestān border region) and various groups of (semi-)pastoralists (cf. above I.1). Interestingly, some of the groups have Elamite names, including the ^{BE}*pār-sip* ^{AŠ}*hu-ri-ip*. This may lend support to the theory that the Persian tribes Μαράφιοι and Μάσπιοι, mentioned by Herodotus (I, 125), have Elamite names as well.¹¹⁵

112. This may be the case with the Maraphians, a Persian tribe known from Herodotus (I, 125). Individuals indicated as ^{AŠ}*ma-ra-pi-ia*, ^{HAL}*ma-ráp-pi-ia* or ^{AŠ}*ma-ráp-pi-ia-ip* occur in the Fortification archive, as well as a place ^{AŠ}*ma-ra-pi-ia(-iš)*. For references see Vallat (1993, 170) and compare Briant 1984a, 106f. and 1996, 345. Compare below fn. 115.
113. ^{BE}*ra-ka₄-pè-ip-pa* (referring to Rakkan, cf. Vallat 1993, 227) and perhaps ^{AŠ}*za-ri-pè* vs. ^{BE}*za-ri²-pè* (S 48, rev. 8, Vallat's reading). I don't agree with Vallat, who includes Persians in the list of groups named after a locale. The *Parsip* are always preceded by BE, though they are frequently specified by a name referring to a locale, e.g. ^{BE}*pār-sip* ^{AŠ}*za-am-pè-gir-ip*. Compare also the rather free variation in the Fortification texts between AŠ and HAL with, for example, *Turmilap* ("Lycians") that can be preceded by either of these determinatives (BE being used more frequently in this case).
114. The complexity of the problem may be illustrated by the case of the *Appalaya-peppa*, a name referring to the individual Appalaya who occurs several times in the Acropole texts (including see ElW s.v. for references). In one case he is introduced as ^{BE}*ap-pa-la-a-a* ^{EŠŠANA} ^{AŠ}*za-ri-pè-ra* ("Appalaya king of the people of Zari," S 71, 1-2; cf. ElW s.v.). If this reading is correct, one should consequently also read ^{BE}*mar-tuk* ^{EŠŠANA} ^{AŠ}*za-ri-pè-ra* in 80, 3-4 (rejecting the interpretation *Marduk-Sunki*, found in Zadok 1984a no. 139 and ElW s.v.). Note also that a certain Martuk appears as ^{BE}*hu-ut-lak* ^{BE}*ap-pa-la-[a²-a²-na²]*, "messenger of Appalaya (?)" (162, 1-2), confirming the Martuk-Appalaya connection (cf. also the "messenger of the people of Zari" in 178, rev. 2-3). Both Appalaya and Martuk (perhaps to be read ^{BE}*mar-dük*) may be Semitic names (cf. ElW s.vv. and Delaunay 1976, 9-10); both individuals seem to have ruled "the people of Zari" at some time. Zari seems to be a locale (unless Vallat's reading ^{BE}*za-ri²-pè* in 48, rev. 8 should indicate the contrary), probably to be distinguished from the city Ζάριυ that occurs in Ctesias (FGrH 688, fr. 15 §56; see Bivar 1990). Thus we could assume that Zari was the centre of the territory of a tribal group, ruled by Appalaya and Martuk and variously referred to as *Appalaya-peppa* and *Zari-pe*. Yet, there are many uncertainties and problematic factors such as the reference to (the same?) Martuk as DUMU *za-ri*, lit. "son of Zari" (126, 9). Should we interpret this as "inhabitant of Zari"? Compare also the Appalaya in MDP XI, 305, 2. The name may be the Elamite rendering of Aplāia /Apil-Aia, a name occurring frequently in Neo-Assyrian texts (references in Radner 1998, 115-119). Persons named Aplāia include the grandson of Merodach-baladan (extradited from Elam by Huban-nikaš II in 653 BC). Another Aplāia occurs in a fragmentary letter (ABL 949, Waterman 1930, 156f.) by a certain Ummanabba (perhaps the Elamite prince of the same name, son of Urtak, who went into exile to Assyria in 664 BC) to "his brother" Aplāia.
115. See von Gall 1972, 263 (following Nyberg) and Briant 1984a, 106. To the forms of "Maraphians" cited above (fn. 112) one should add ^{HAL}*ma-ráp-pá-ip* and ^{AŠ}*ma-ráp²-pá-iš* (PF-NN 546 and 2065). The latter two render OP **mārafya-* (Hinz 1975, 160) an unlikely solution; the original name may have been Elam. **marap*. This form was no longer felt as a plural (hence *Marappap*) and was secondarily extended with the OP suffix *-ia* (*Marapia*, *Marappiyap*, Μαράφιοι), with *-(i)š* (*Marappaš*) or with both (*Marapiyaš*). For the suffix *-ia* (generally used to form ethnics) see Kent 1953, 50; for *-(i)š* cf. above fn. 90.

II.3. Kalmākarra

This survey on Elamite-Iranian acculturation and more specifically Elamite-Median contacts would not be complete without some words on the so-called “Kalmākarra hoard” (also known by the fanciful name “Western Cave Treasure”). The hoard obviously deserves a more detailed treatment, but due to its complicated nature this would exceed the limits of the present study. The following is merely a preliminary inventory intended to facilitate future research on the “Kalmākarra hoard.” It should be stressed that the objects mentioned below are likely to include at least some forgeries. Moreover, there is a real possibility of contamination: genuine objects with a different provenance may have been deliberately associated with Kalmākarra to enhance their value.

A cave called Kalmākarra is situated on a southern slope of the Mahleh Kūh, in the Rūmišgān district of Lorestān. Its entrance lies roughly 10 km north of the confluence of the Saimarreh and the Kašgān rivers, and *ca.* 15 km northwest of Pol-e Dokhtar. The cave was visited for the first time in 1989 by a team of the Lorestān branch of the Iranian Cultural Heritage Organization (ICHO). Apart from “large amounts of earthenware [...] in different spots in the cave” this survey did not yield any finds according to the preliminary report by N. Mo’tamedī (1371).¹¹⁶ Apparently, the presence of the ICHO team had attracted attention: already in the winter of 1989 the local authorities confiscated a number of objects and an investigation of the matter led them to consider Kalmākarra cave as the *most probable* provenance.¹¹⁷ Proper archaeological research did not start before 1992 and in the intervening three years the cave was completely plundered and severely damaged by villagers and other treasure hunters.¹¹⁸ The ICHO expedition of September 1992 made an inventory of the four chambers of the Kalmākarra cave. On the basis of the cave’s inhospitable characteristics as well as the dearth of material remains indicating a longer occupation, it was concluded that the cave was never used as a permanent residence. Three types of usage, that the ICHO team believed to be closely associated, were established: inhumation, short-period occupation and storage. The latter function is indicated by the pottery, mainly fragments from large jars provisionally dated to the Achaemenid period.

According to Mo’tamedī’s report, the cave’s third chamber was believed to be the place where perhaps as much as 360 objects were hidden in various cavities, but at the time of the second expedition the chamber had been turned into a “stone mine” by treasure-hunters who had been detonating explosives (Mo’tamedī 1371, 8). In a “chimney” at the very end of the fourth chamber, the first artefacts (apparently those confiscated in 1989) are said to have been discovered by local villagers. Both Mo’tamedī and Qazanfarī also relate eyewitness reports on the illegal “excavation” of objects, other than those confiscated in 1989.¹¹⁹ The Iranian authorities have retrieved supposed parts of the hoard at

116. I am very grateful to M. Mousavi (ICHO, Tehrān) who draw my attention to this publication and that of Qazanfarī (1371) and kindly provided me with copies. My thanks are also due to M. Parsa for translating both articles.

117. Qazanfarī (1371, 22f.; figs. 23-24) reports the following objects: a gold mask, 2 sickle-shaped silver objects (handles?), 3 silver bars, 3 large and 3 small silver animal ears.

118. Cf. Mo’tamedī (1371, 9): “After this discovery some dealers of antique objects and some of the local elements incited and encouraged most of the local people to start digging inside the cave. The result of this was that, for three years, more than a hundred people visited the cave on a daily basis, digging and searching or even demolishing this amazing environment.” A first reaction from outside Iran was a message (posted on the ANE electronic newlist on 6-X-1992) by A. Alizadeh, appealing to the ICHO to take steps against the trading of Kalmākarra objects.

119. Qazanfarī lists “twelve golden masks, one of them weighing *ca.* 120 gr., a tray with the design of a winged horse on it, a rhyton in the form of an ibex’s head or a bull’s head, 8 golden winged horses, a fish with a length of 50 cm” (1371, 22). And elsewhere he names “360 objects including tableware of various kinds and statues mostly of silver” (1371, 8).

various occasions, but the circumstances and amount of confiscated objects are as yet unclear and subject to much speculation. At any rate, the number of “Kalmākarra objects” presently kept in various Iranian museums can reasonably be estimated at *ca.* 80. An unknown (but certainly considerable) number of objects has been smuggled out of Iran. Some of these objects have turned up in art galleries, auctions and even in two museum collections. In Turkey a number of objects was confiscated from art smugglers.

The main public collection of “Kalmākarra objects” (*ca.* 65) is housed in the Falak ol-Aflāk Museum in Khorram-Ābād (Lorestān).¹²⁰ Photographs of only 15 of these have been published until now (Baššāš-Kanzaq 2000): seven shallow bowls (some with egg-lobes), a deep bowl (with corrugated base and bent rim), four plain vases, two vases with deep egg-lobes and a lion-headed rhyton. The unpublished part of the collection includes various similar bowls and vases as well as silver plates (with egg-lobes and a lotus’ buds-and-blossoms decoration), several large bowls with sprouts in the form of a bull’s head, rhyta with a (young) bull’s protome, two large rhyta/beakers with three (partly three-dimensional) lions encircling the base and an elaborate lion-headed rhyton with a bull standing on the lion’s head (Plate 7).¹²¹ There are various (compound) zoomorphic pouring vessels (with filling hole in the head and sprinkler holes in the mouth, nostrils etc.): a bird of prey (eagle?) catching a hare (Plate 8), a standing ibex (Plate 9) and a lion attacking a deer (Plate 10, a).¹²² Several objects defy immediate categorization: a beautiful duck’s head, a bull’s head, “knobs” with various engraved patterns, a number of bovine or equid ears of varying size and a curious little gold mask.¹²³ In addition, there are six gold torques and two silver ram-headed bracelets. About twenty objects carry Neo-Elamite inscriptions, the fifteen published objects are all inscribed (see below).

A smaller number of objects are kept in the depot of the National Museum of Iran in Tehrān. Three of these have been published in the catalogue of the exhibition *7000 Jahre persische Kunst* (Vienna).¹²⁴ Two inscribed rhyta (of which only the upper parts survive) have been published by

120. By courtesy of the museum’s staff, in particular Mr. M. Darabi and Mrs. M. Nezaratizadeh, I was able to see all the objects, including those that were not in the exhibition. A small number of objects (carrying incomplete inscriptions or showing a very divergent style) seemed suspicious to me.

121. A small, undated brochure called “Lorestān,” published by the Iranian Touring and Tourist Organization (kindly given to me by Mr. Alireza Farzīn) shows a photograph of the object. An erect ibex in the collection may have been part of a similar rhyton.

122. Images of the eagle and the ibex are printed in Qazanfarī - Farzīn 1376, 37-39 (Persian section).

123. For the ears cf. Qazanfarī 1371, figs. 23-24. The mask is perhaps the same as the one illustrated by Qazanfarī (*loc. cit.*). This and similar masks reportedly kept in Tehrān probably prompted the date (in some of the early western reports) of 2500-500 BC for the entire hoard, given the reminiscence to the so-called “Lady of Uruk.” If the masks are genuine, one may ask whether they were really included in the original hoard. Note that a gold mask (10.5 cm wide), undoubtedly related to the ones referred to above, was auctioned at Christie’s (New York, 6-XII-2001, cat. no. 714) as “a Western Asiatic gold mask” (dated to the 8th-7th century). The catalogue refers to a similar gold mask in the possession of the Miho Museum (*The Miho Museum. The First Anniversary Exhibition*, pp. 19-21, *non vidi*).

124. A silver beaker with triple ram’s heads has an Aramaic inscription: “Gabe des Befehlshabers der Schiffe für das Leben unseres Herrn, des Königs” (Bleibtreu 2000a). I find it difficult to imagine a historical context for the inscription and the vessel itself is perhaps not very convincing either. Two other objects, a large silver ewer with a Neo-Assyrian inscription (Bleibtreu 2000b) and a gold torque with lions’ heads (Bleibtreu 2000c), seem to be Fremdkörper among other “Kalmākarra objects” and one is inclined to consider a different provenance. Both objects are also discussed by Baššāš-Kanzaq (1997; 2000). Among the unpublished objects at the National Museum there are reportedly two or more masks (cf. fn. 123 above), an ibex-rhyton (apparently comparable to the one published in Bleibtreu 1999c, 5, Taf. 6-7c) and some furniture applications.

Baššāš-Kanzaq (2000). A third Iranian museum, the Āzarbāiḡān Museum in Tabrīz, apparently now has two or more “Kalmākarra objects” in its collection.¹²⁵

Outside Iran objects claimed to be from Kalmākarra are to be found in the Musée du Louvre and the Miho Museum (Japan). A silver beaker with a spherical base (AO 30371; publ. by Caubet 1995) and a silver bowl with deep egg-lobes (AO 30449; publ. by Demange 1996) were acquired by the Louvre.¹²⁶ Only one object from the “Cave Treasure” is mentioned in the catalogue of the Miho Museum: a compound zoomorphic pouring vessel in the form of two “wrestling” lions standing on a bull (cat. no. 27 = Kawami 1997).¹²⁷ Furthermore, the museum has another compound zoomorphic pouring vessel a lion attacking a bull (Colour Plates 1 and 2) and an ibex-rhyton.¹²⁸ A fourth object (acquired in 1998) is the now (in)famous “Assurbanipal-beaker,” a large silver and gold-leaf beaker decorated with engraved Neo-Assyrian scenes: the procession of an Assyrian king and a number of captive Elamites, including a king. On the outside (just below the rim) there is an inscription naming Assurbanipal; the inside of the rim carries a Neo-Elamite inscription (Kal. 1a, see below). Since its publication by Bleibtreu, the claim of authenticity of the decoration and the Assyrian inscription has been challenged by various scholars. In particular Lawergren’s remarks on the “incongruous musical instruments” form a weighty argument against the decoration’s authenticity. Without metallurgic analysis definite answers cannot be given as to the beaker itself, but it should be noted that when it (without the engraved decoration) would prove to be ancient, it still seems to be a Fremdkörper among other “Kalmākarra objects.”¹²⁹

125. Pers. comm. Sh. Razmjou, Tehrān.

126. Both vessels have an Elamite inscription (Kal. 1a and 5, see below) that allows their attribution to the group of “Kalmākarra objects.” The publications only refer to a “trésor” from the Zagros which is now partly in “private collections in London” (*i.e.*, among others, the collection Mahboubian).

127. The abbreviated version of the description of the vessel from the Miho catalogue (Kawami 1997) was printed in the catalogues that accompanied the 1999 exhibition *Schätze des Orients. Meisterwerke aus dem Miho Museum* that was held in Vienna and subsequently in Leiden (Seipel 1999; Schneider 1999). For a little gold mask, perhaps to be associated with Kalmākarra, in the Miho Museum see fn. 123 above. Incidentally, the Miho Museum recently also acquired a group of seven unprovenanced Achaemenid silver objects (including two rhyta and a *phiale* with Old-Persian and Babylonian inscriptions). There is no direct reason to believe that they are linked to the Kalmākarra hoard. It is interesting, however, that there are indications that the objects belonged together as a group and may have been found in a tomb or cave (see M. Carter 2001; Sims-Williams 1990; 2001).

128. The ibex-rhyton is discussed by Bleibtreu (1999c, 5, Taf. 6-7c). Oscar Muscarella was kind enough to share his thoughts on the rhyton with me. Various details (*i.a.* the split horns, the eyes, the designs of the applied decoration) support his suspicion that the rhyton is a forgery. The zoomorphic pouring vessel (lion attacking a bull) is shown on the museum’s website (www.miho.org.jp), naming “Western-Iran” as provenance. The vessel was undoubtedly acquired from the Mahboubian collection (on which see below). In fact, the photograph used by the Miho Museum is identical to one published in Mahboubian (1995, 59-61, cat. no. 14).

129. The beaker was first published by Erika Bleibtreu in the catalogue of the Vienna exhibition (Bleibtreu 1999a, reprinted as Bleibtreu 1999b) and is the subject of a separate monograph by the same author (Bleibtreu 1999c). In their reviews of the latter monograph Muscarella (2000) and Albenda (2001) present a series of important stylistic arguments against the authenticity of the decoration. Lawergren (2000) points to a number of errors (apparent misinterpretations of Assyrian reliefs) such as the tassels on a lyre (“a devastating argument against its authenticity”) and the wrong posture of the harp players. Wartke (2001) does not elaborate on the iconography or style of the beaker’s decoration, but nonetheless is convinced (admitting initial reservations) of the vessel’s authenticity on the basis of its quality. In fact, his conjecture about the “innovative Technologie” of gilding that seems to have been used (cf. Bleibtreu 1999c, 1 fn. 3), only increases the suspicion of forgery. Czichon (2001), rightly referring to the Paris UNESCO convention and the ICOM treaty on illicit antiquities, refused to discuss the contents of Bleibtreu 1999c. If the beaker itself is

A number of (mostly unpublished) objects associated with Kalmākarra is reported from various art galleries and private collections.¹³⁰ In a self-published catalogue H. Mahboubian (1995) presents a collection of 18 silver objects claimed to be “excavated” by his father early in the 20th century and kept “in his private collection in Switzerland and France since 1934” (1995, 3). Yet, the very close resemblance between these objects and notably those in the Falak ol-Aflāk Museum strongly suggests otherwise.¹³¹ The Mahboubian collection consists of various bowls (Plates 10b, 11) and plates (mostly with deep egg-lobes), a lion-headed rhyton (Plate 12), a beaker/rhyton with triple rams’ heads, a large beaker/rhyton with three (partly three-dimensional) lions encircling its base, a large ewer with ibex-shaped handles and an upright ram.¹³² There are also various zoomorphic pouring vessels in the form of an ibex, a bull, and a winged bull respectively.¹³³ The Mahboubian catalogue (1995, 31f.) includes a section by W.G. Lambert with some provisional remarks on the various inscriptions (unfortunately without photographs or autograph copies).

Apart from the collection Mahboubian only one more object in a private collection was treated in an extensive publication: a silver rhyton with a ram’s head (Vallat 2000a) that was apparently sold by the Parisian gallery Blondeel-Deroyan. Although the publisher did not explicitly include the vessel in the group of “Kalmākarra objects,” its style and its Neo-Elamite inscription (Kal. 14) seem to justify the inclusion of the vessel in this survey.¹³⁴

A conical silver beaker with incised lotus-calyx motif and a Neo-Elamite inscription punched on the inner rim (Kal. 2) was auctioned by Christie’s in New York. Also auctioned in New York, but this time by Sotheby’s, was a large silver plate (introduced as “phiale”) with egg-lobes and lotus’ buds-and-blossoms decoration. The plate (with inscription Kal. 9) shows close resemblance to several plates

ancient (as some have proposed), it would surprise me if it were Elamite: the shape of the vessel has no parallels in Neo-Elamite art (nor in Neo-Assyrian art for that matter; pers. comm. O. Muscarella) and the Neo-Elamite inscription should probably have been on the outer rim, where it is most visible. In addition to these objections, it should be mentioned that there are persistent rumours coming from the antiquities trade confirming that the beaker is a (ambitious!) forgery.

130. There about 37 objects on the market or in private collections that I am presently aware of. Unfortunately, about ten of these objects (most of them inscribed, some of them with longer inscriptions) cannot be included in this survey as the available information was either restricted or simply inadequate. Regarding the 27 remaining objects it should be stressed again that my remarks are necessarily provisional given the limited access I had to the material.
131. This is not the place to discuss all of Mahboubian’s claims. Suffice it to say that the foreword to the publication does not strike me as particularly convincing. The reader may judge for himself whether or not it is believable that a) the collection, although kept in France and Switzerland since 1934, remained completely unknown until 1995, b) an earlier edition of the publication was destroyed down to the very last copy in the revolutionary riots of 1979. Moreover, one wonders how to explain c) the inscriptions identical to those on various “Kalmākarra objects” and d) the fact that some objects are virtually identical to those in the Falak ol-Aflāk Museum. Curiously Mahboubian jr. quotes from his father’s notes (written in true Howard Carter style), while in another publication (Mahboubian 1997, 8) he bewails the loss of *all* his father’s notebooks.
132. The object is described as a “handle,” but may have been part of a rhyton (cf. the standing bull on the lion-headed rhyton in the Falak ol-Aflāk Museum).
133. To this group also belongs the compound zoomorphic vessel (cat. no. 14) that later was acquired by the Miho museum (see fn. 128 above; and here Colour Plates 1 and 2).
134. Note that the Vallat discusses a possible link between the Lalintaš of the vessel’s inscription (on which see below) and “les textes de Samati” (2000a, 30). The rhyton was first depicted in a catalogue entitled *Cupidon, aurige de l’âme antique* (galerie Blondeel-Deroyan, 19 novembre - 18 décembre 1999). There the inscription was read incorrectly as “Latentash, fils de (...)unukash.”

in the Falak ol-Aflāk Museum and to a plate in the collection Mahboubian (1995, 48f.). Various other objects auctioned by Sotheby's and Christie's in recent years may be associated with Kalmākarra as well, but as they lack inscriptions it is hard to corroborate this possibility.¹³⁵

A problematic case is presented by a silver beaker, acquired by a private collector in the United States. The plain upper part of the beaker is set in a slightly wider, semi-conical base resting on triple three-dimensional deer. On the surface between the three deer there is a palmette design, joined at the bottom of the base. The deer themselves are in a very crude style; their bodies and legs are awkwardly flat and thin. Most disturbing is the fact that the vessel, when standing upright, is resting on the deers' snouts, which renders the object very unnatural. It could be plausibly suggested that the upper part of the beaker is genuine and that the piece may have been "enhanced" by adding the base with triple deer-heads. A clumsy portrait of a deer head, incised just below the vessel's rim, may also be a modern addition, aimed at "proving" the connection between the old and the new parts.¹³⁶ Originally, the object must have been well comparable to the silver beaker in the Louvre (AO 30371, see above). A short inscription runs at the vessel's inner rim (Kal. 1c).

Two "silver vases" were reported in the possession of a London-based antiquities dealer. Both are inscribed on the inner rim, the first with a short inscription (Kal. 1c), the other with a longer and slightly damaged text (Kal. 15).

Three objects were seen in the possession of, or on consignment with, antiquities dealers in New York in 1992-1993.¹³⁷ The first is described as "a lion-headed rhyton." The inscription on its inner rim (Kal. 1a) is in an unusual hand and misses a sign (see below), thus creating some doubt about the in-

135. The inscribed beaker was auctioned by Christie's (New York, 4-VI-'99, cat. no. 204); the inscribed plate was auctioned by Sotheby's (NY, 17-XII-'96, cat. no. 165). Additional, uninscribed objects: 1) "A silver cup, Achaemenid period or earlier, *circa* 6th/5th century BC" (Sotheby's NY, 14-VI-2000, cat. no. 130). The beaker is roughly similar to the inscribed beaker auctioned by Christie's (but smaller and executed in a cruder style). 2) "A Western Asiatic gold mask, *circa* 8th-7th century BC" (Christie's New York 6-XII-2001, cat. no. 714); see fn. 123 above. 3) "A Neo-Elamite or early Achaemenid silver phiale, *circa* 6th century BC" (Christie's NY 9-XII-'99, cat. no. 531; compare AO 30449 in the Louvre). 4) "A silver phiale mesomphalos, pre-Achaemenid, *circa* 7th century BC" (Sotheby's NY, 13-VI-'96, cat. no. 128). 5) "A fine pre-Achaemenid gold ibex head protome, *circa* 7th century BC" (Christie's London, 11-VI-1997, cat. no. 23; height: 5 cm). Objects 1-3 show clear parallels to some of the "Kalmākarra" objects. Objects 4-5 have no direct parallels within the known corpus, but their association with the hoard cannot be excluded. Two shallow silver bowls may be identical with objects (formerly) in the Mahboubian collection and may tentatively be attributed to the "Kalmākarra" corpus on that basis: 6) a bowl with a hammered lotus' buds and blossoms decoration (Christie's London 25-XI-1997, cat. no. 173 = Christie's NY, 7-XII-2000, cat. no. 721, plausibly identical to Mahboubian 1995, 44, no. 6, even though the listed measurements are different). 7) A bowl decorated with radiating ribs and a central rosette (Sotheby's NY, 31-V-1997, cat. no. 161, plausibly identical to *ibid.* no. 7, even though the listed measurements are different). Christie's auctioned four silver objects introduced as "Neo-Elamite, *ca.* early sixth century BC" which is a puzzling label unless "Kalmākarra" is meant (Christie's NY 08-VI-2001 nos. 370-372, 374). The objects (two silver vases, a "phiale mesomphalos" and a "ram's head terminal") are unlike other "Kalmākarra" objects, however, and may have been found elsewhere (if they are genuine at all).

136. Similar "symbols" (lotus, boar's head, lion's head) are found before or after the inscription on various Kalmākarra objects (particularly in the Falak ol-Aflāk Museum) but these designs are in a much better style and they do not "refer" to the shape of the vessel. Interestingly, a small chased lion's head, similar to the type known from Kalmākarra objects, appears on an uninscribed "Achaemenid silver *phiale*" auctioned at Christie's (London, 11-XII-'96, cat. no. 90). These animal designs certainly merit further study, as soon as more photographs will be available. Compare also the ancient punch marks (with a linear pattern of one or several animals) on various Achaemenid phialai (Gunter - Root 1998, 13-15).

137. Only photographs of the inscribed parts of these objects were available to me.

scription's or even the vessel's authenticity. A second object, a "bowl with bull protome" has the same inscription, but this time complete (Kal. 1a), running on the outer rim. The vessel is comparable to the large bowls with sprouts in the form of a bull's head in the Falak ol-Aflāk Museum (see above). A third object, a "rhyton," again carries the same inscription (Kal. 1a) on the inner rim.

A number of objects were confiscated by the Turkish authorities in 1993. Two of these, a carinated bowl and a lion(?)-headed rhyton, are described in a short note by V. Donbaz (1996) and are said to be found "in a cave in Iran about five years ago" (1996, 37). The inscriptions (Kal. 1a) on the two objects securely connect them to the group of "Kalmākarra objects." According to the author the confiscated objects also included gold and silver coins and a golden statuette: such objects would be unparalleled among objects purportedly from Kalmākarra.¹³⁸

Given the manifold uncertainties, it is certainly preferable to opt for a minimalist approach when trying to define the original composition of the hoard. In the opinion of the present author, the "Kalmākarra hoard" consisted of a large number of silver objects that fall within the category of (ceremonial or ritual) tableware (including rhyta and compound pouring vessels). From a stylistic perspective the tableware obviously forms a more or less coherent whole: it is immediately apparent that the internal affinities are stronger than the variations. The tableware group is further defined by the Neo-Elamite inscriptions (on which see below) that do not appear on the additional objects claimed to be from Kalmākarra. These objects (jewellery, furniture decorations, Assyrian vessels, gold masks and coins) are different in style, material and function. It may prove to be difficult to discard these objects as recent intrusions in the corpus defined above, but their purported find in Kalmākarra should at least be treated with a certain amount of scepticism.

Neo-Elamite inscriptions occur on many objects, particularly on plates and bowls. Out of the *ca.* 65 objects in the Falak ol-Aflāk Museum 20 carry inscriptions; 15 have thus far been published (Baššāš-Kanzaq 2000).¹³⁹ Nine of the published inscriptions are identical and read ^{DIS}*am-pi-ri-iš* EŠŠANA *sa-ma-tir_e-ra* DUMU *da-ba-la-na*, "Ampiriš, king of Samati (lit. Samatian king), son of Dabala" (Kal.1a).¹⁴⁰ This inscription also occurs on other "Kalmākarra objects." A transliteration was first published by Donbaz (1996) who read the inscription on two objects confiscated in Turkey. A transliteration of the same inscription on the "Assurbanipal beaker" was published by Bleibtreu (1999a; 1999c, 5).¹⁴¹ The

138. I take it that the author means that all the objects were supposed to be found in the same Iranian cave, but this is not stated explicitly.

139. The transliterations of these inscriptions given in this article are not identical to the interpretations given by Baššāš-Kanzaq, but based on inspection of his autograph copies and photographs (as far as the quality of these allows reading of the inscription). My transliterations are necessarily provisional and will hopefully be corrected by an extensive publication based on adequate study of the actual objects.

140. Baššāš-Kanzaq 2000, A², D², F², I, K, L, M, N, O. Most, if not all the unpublished inscribed objects have the same inscription.

141. Bleibtreu's transliteration (*am-pi-ri-iš* EŠŠANA *sa-ma-tir_e-ra* DUMU *da-ba-la-na*) contains two minor omissions: the name Ampiriš is preceded by a personal marker (^{DIS}*am-pi-ri-iš*) and the sign TUR should be read either *tir_e* or *tur*. Vallat (1996b), whose transliteration is followed here, argues in favour of reading *sa-ma-tir_e-ra*. The ibex-rhyton, also published by Bleibtreu 1999c, carries the same inscription, but it is not transliterated separately. As far as I can see from the illustrations it reads ^{DIS}*am-pi-ri-[iš* EŠŠANA] *sa-ma-tir_e-ra* DUMU *da-ba-la-na*. Part of the inscription is apparently covered by metal or some other substance (see Taf. 7a). I take we should consider the possibility that this was intentionally applied to the vessel in order to show that the inscription is ancient (cf. fn. 129 above). Not being a specialist of Elamite palaeography myself, I acknowledge the opinion of those who are, that this inscription and the one on the "Assurbanipal beaker" seem perfectly acceptable. Yet, I have seen a very clumsy "Kalmākarra" forgery in a private collection that carried an equally acceptable inscription (*i.e.* a convincing copy from a genuine inscription). Thus it would seem hazardous to me to base any judgement solely on the inscriptions.

Ampiriš-inscription is also reported on two objects in Tehrān (Baššāš-Kanzaq 2000, nos. A¹, F¹), on one of the Louvre vessels (Caubet 1995) and on various objects in the collection Mahboubian (1995, 31). The three objects reported from antiquities dealers in New York all have this inscription as well, but the one on the lion-headed rhyton is incomplete.¹⁴²

A slightly different version of the Ampiriš-inscription reads ^{DIŠ}EŠŠANA ^{DIŠ}am-pi-ri-iš sa-ma-tir_e-ra DUMU da-ba-la-na, “King Ampiriš of Samati (lit. the Samatian), son of Dabala” (Kal. 1b). This inscription occurs on one vase with deep egg-lobes in Khorram-Ābād (Baššāš-Kanzaq 2000, H). A shorter version of the Ampiriš-inscription reads ^{DIŠ}am-pi-ri-iš DUMU da-ba-la-na, “Ampiriš, son of Dabala” (Kal. 1c), omitting the title “king of Samati.” This inscription appears on a fluted bowl in Khorram-Ābād (Baššāš-Kanzaq 2000, C²), on the beaker with triple deer heads in a private U.S. collection and on one of the two silver vases reported in the possession of a London-based antiquities dealer.

The inscription on the beaker auctioned by Christie’s reads ^{DIŠ}an-ni-šil-ha-ak EŠŠANA sa-ma-tir_e-ra DUMU da-ba-la-na, “Anni-šilhak, king of Samati (lit. Samatian king), son of Dabala” (Kal. 2). This inscription is also mentioned by Lambert (in Mahboubian 1995, 31).¹⁴³

Three objects, two in Khorram-Ābād and one in Tehrān (Baššāš-Kanzaq 2000, G², J, F¹) carry a longer inscription. The transliteration contains a few uncertainties: ^{DIŠ}un-zī-ki-lik EŠŠANA sa-ma-tir_e-ra DUMU am-pi-ri-iš-na pi-in-na in-ra ha-ni-iš-da a-ráš pi-in-na man-ra (Kal. 3). A provisional interpretation renders this “Unzikilik, king of Samati (lit. Samatian king), son of Ampiriš not-he had wished/selected *pinna*, he-wanting *pinna* [as?] possession.” Lambert (in Mahboubian 1995, 31, “b”) mentions a similar, but shorter inscription: “Unzi-kilik, king of Samati, son of Ampiriš.” In fact this may well be an incomplete translation of the same inscription, as Lambert’s provisional survey generally only quotes the personal names from the inscriptions.¹⁴⁴

142. The latter inscription reads ^{DIŠ}am-pi-ri-iš EŠŠANA sa-ma-tir_e-ra da-ba-la-na (reading from photograph); after sa-ma-tir_e-ra the logogram DUMU (“son”) is missing. The omission, probably due to haplography of the two necessary occurrences of TUR (for tir_e and DUMU), casts doubts on the inscription’s authenticity. The modern addition of an inscription (copied or forged) to an antique object would not be unparalleled (cf. Sims-Williams 2001 on the Old-Persian *phiale*-inscription A¹I, a modern forgery that was nonetheless accepted by Kent 1953, 153).

143. The inscription is quoted as “Annišilha, king of Samati, son of Dabala” in the Christie’s catalogue. The sign AG in the name Anni-šilhak has been overlooked; it is clearly visible on the photograph in the catalogue. According to Lambert (in Mahboubian 1995, 32) the name seems to be spelled as “Anni-šilha” on some (unidentified) objects, which may have prompted the reading in the Christie’s catalogue. It is not clear to me whether the beaker auctioned by Christie’s is in fact the same as the inscribed object mentioned by Lambert.

144. I am grateful to F. Vallat for his suggesting the transliteration a-ráš pi-in-na to me. In the first name Baššāš-Kanzaq reads the sign UR as taš instead of lik (Lambert). The name ^{BEr}ak²¹-ši-x¹-ki-li-ik²¹ (S 94, 14; compare [x x]-ki¹-li-ik 148, rev. 5-6) does, however, support the element -kilik in Unzi-kilik, but the parallel is not decisive precisely because the name is spelled -li-ik and does not have UR with the value lik. The last word of the inscription is transcribed by Baššāš-Kanzaq as pab-ra, but his drawing suggest MAN rather than PAP. The two vases in Khorram-Ābād are identical in shape (Baššāš-Kanzaq 2000, G², J). On the first one (G²) the inscription is not completely preserved (or invisible because of corrosion); the last legible sign is HA. Even the incomplete interpretation proposed here rests on an uncomfortable number of uncertainties. *Hanišda* is a form of the verbal root *han(i)*, “to love, desire” (occurring from Middle-Elamite onwards) with a suffix -t that probably indicates anteriority. The occurrence of *hanik*, *hani* etc. in royal inscriptions (including NE and Achaemenid) suggests that it may have expressed a formal relation, i.e. “to select” (as heir etc; see ElW s.v. *hanik*). The object of *hanišda* is, apparently, *pinna*. If this word were Elamite, the ending -na would seem to be the familiar Neo-Elamite genitive suffix, but as far as I can see the syntax does not seem to suggest this. Possibly, *pinna* is an Iranian loanword with the suffix -na which is frequently used to form nouns and adjectives such as Old-Persian *araⁿja-na-*, “decoration.” For *araš*, “possession,” compare

An inscription by “Ahtir, son of king Ampiriš” (Kal. 4) is mentioned by Lambert (*ibid.* “d”). As the inscription does not occur elsewhere, and no photographs or autograph copies are available in Mahboubian’s publication, the interpretation can not be verified. Demange’s note (1996) on the second Louvre vessel (1996) only gives a transliteration: “Untash, fils de Huban, le ... d’Ampirish” (Kal. 5). Again the transliteration could not be checked.¹⁴⁵

On one egg-lobed bowl in the Falak ol-Aflāk Museum in Khorram-Ābād (Baššāš-Kanzaq 2000, B²) has an inscription reading ^{DIS}*un-sa-ak* EŠŠANA *sa-ma-tir_e-ra* DUMU *gi-ut-ti-ia-āš-na*, “Unsak, king of Samati (lit. Samatian king), son of Gittiyaš” (Kal. 6). The same inscription is mentioned by Lambert (in Mahboubian 1995, 31, “P”).¹⁴⁶

The inscriptions Kal. 7-8 and Kal. 10-13 are known only from Lambert’s translations (quoted in the table on the opposite page) and could not be checked.

Two objects, one in Khorram-Ābād and one in Tehrān (Baššāš-Kanzaq 2000, E², E¹) have the following inscription: ^{DIS}*at-ta-sa-pir¹* DUMU *sa ap-par₆-rak_e-na*, “Atta-sapir, son of Sapparrak” (Kal. 9). The same inscription runs on the rim of the silver plate auctioned by Sotheby’s (Kal. 9).¹⁴⁷

The rhyton published by Vallat (2000a) —if it indeed belongs to the Kalmākarra group— has an inscription that reads ^{DIS}*la-li-in-taš* DUMU ^{DINGIR}*ib-ú-nu-kaš-na*, “Lalintaš, son of Ibunukaš” (Kal. 14).

The second of the two vases reported in the possession of a London antiquities dealer carries a longer, previously unpublished inscription: ^{DIS}*ma-na-ka₄-[x x¹ un-taš* DUMU *hu-ban-na nu-pi-ik-ti* ^{DIS}*am-pi-ri-iš-na-ma ki-ti-iš-da*. If the word separation suggested here is correct, a tentative interpretation would be “Manaka[...]untaš, son of Huban, has poured ou/made a libation as the

especially EKI 75, 22, *duhi-e araš huttanra*, “he (who) makes it his own possession.” *Manra* is to be explained as *ma+n+r(a)*, “he wants/ strives/ seeks” (the same for occurs in Middle Elamite; see discussion in Grillot - Vallat 1975, 212f.).

145. Demange’s translation is based on the “lecture d’après le Professeur W. Lambert.” A translation of the same inscription appears in Mahboubian 1995, 31 (e); it is uncertain whether this refers to the same object or to a second one.

146. The lecture of the last name, *zi-ut-ti-ia-āš*, is perhaps less attractive as ZI is not attested beyond NE II according to Steve’s syllabary (1992, 60) and was replaced by šI. The use of ZI in the Kalmākarra inscriptions cannot be excluded, but is unlikely given the fact that šI is used as well (^{DIS}*un-zi-ki-lik* in Kal. 3). The sign GI, on the other hand, has forms in Steve’s NE IIIb period which are sufficiently close to the sign in Kal. 6. Still, **Zittiyaš* would have had a parallel in PF-NN 497 where Hallock reads ¹*ú[?]-ka₄-te-ia*, but considers the alternative reading *zi-ut-te-ia* (but with šI, not ZI). Note that Baššāš-Kanzaq reads *ki-din-ti-ia-āš* (reading DIN instead of UD).

147. The transliteration presented here is basically identical with that given by Lambert: “Adda-sapir (^m*ad-da-sa-pir*), son of Sapparrak (*sa-ap-par₆-rak_e*)” (in Mahboubian 1995, 31). As in the cases of the beaker auctioned by Christie’s and the bowl published by Demange (cf. fns. 143 and 145, above), it is possible that the Sotheby’s plate is in fact identical to the object referred to by Lambert. The last sign in ^{DIS}*ad-da-sa-pir¹* has an unusual form in both inscriptions presented by Baššāš-Kanzaq (E², E¹) and seems to consist of five (not four) wedges. This probably prompted Baššāš-Kanzaq’s preference to transliterate the sign PAN (*at-ta-sa-pan*). At first this seems to be supported by Kal. 15 where PAN occurs in a similar shape in the name *hu-ban*. Yet, as F. Vallat kindly informs me, PIR is the preferable reading given the occurrence of the name ^{BE}*sa-pir* in S 287, 9 and its early second millennium antecedent *sa-pi-ru-ri* (see Zadok 1984a, 38). As for the reading *sa-ap-par₆-rak_e* for the second name: the third sign, BĀR, was used in Neo-Elamite, but only as a logogram according to Steve’s syllabary (1992, 155). The Neo- and Achaemenid-Elamite *šā-bar-rāk-me*, *šā-bar-rāk-um-me* (“battle;” see EIW s.vv.) does, however, offer a convincing parallel to *sa-ap-par₆-rak_e*, and therefore supports the syllabic reading *par₆* for BĀR (F. Vallat, pers. comm.).

nupikti for/of Ampiriš.” Alternatively, the inscription could be interpreted as “Manaka[...] -untaš, son of Huban, has protected/preserved as the *nupikti* for/of Ampiris” (Kal. 15).¹⁴⁸

The 17 different inscriptions on various objects that have become known thus far are represented in the table on the following page.

The historical context of the inscriptions was analysed by Vallat in various publications. He connected *sa-ma-tir_e-ra* to the “people of Samati,” occurring in Elamite sources, notably the ^{BE}*pu-hu sa-ma-tip*, “inhabitants of Samati” (lit. “Samatian sons”) in an Acropole text (S 94, 15; see above II.2.3). Among these “inhabitants of Samati” we find a certain Anni-šilhak, whom Vallat (1996b) identified as the “Anni-šilhak, king of Samati, son of Dabala” (Kal. 2). Several other personal names appear both in the inscriptions and in the Neo-Elamite Acropole texts.¹⁴⁹ In his publication of a silver rhyton (cf. above) with an inscription naming a certain Lalintaš (Kal. 14) Vallat (2000a) points to a person with the same name occurring in the Acropole texts and to groups referred to as “people of Lalintaš.”¹⁵⁰ Taken together, these correspondences establish an undeniable connection between the Neo-Elamite inscriptions on the “Kalmākarra objects” and the Acropole texts. Vallat placed the inscriptions on palaeographic grounds in the “Neo-Elamite IIIb,” which he dates to 585-539 BC. This means that the inscriptions are likely to be contemporary with the Acropole archive (see above fn. 65).¹⁵¹

The style of the objects does not seem to contradict a date in the sixth century. Most of them are quite close to Achaemenid art, particularly some of the bowls and plates and e.g. the duck’s head in the Falak ol-Aflāk. This closeness to Achaemenid art, in combination with the Elamite language, script and majority of personal names in the inscriptions, led Boucharlat to the question whether the owners were “déjà le résultat de la fusion des Élamites et des Iraniens” (1998, 149f.). This seems indeed the right approach to the hoard: it tells the same story of Elamite-Iranian acculturation as the Iranizing Neo-Elamite glyptic (and other forms of art) or the mixed character of the Arġān tomb inventory. In the Acropole texts from Susa we find a 10% minority of Iranian personal names and a comparable percentage is found in the Kalmākarra onomasticon. About two or three names (out of 24)

148. Constructions parallel to *nupikti Ampiraš-na-ma kitišda* are common in the PF archive (e.g. *appa* PNN *marriš bazišša EŠŠANA-na-ma*, “that PNN took as the king’s tax” in PF 2025). The meaning “has poured out” for *kitišda* is also adequately established in that archive (cf. Hallock 1969, 558). The other interpretation, suggested to me by F. Vallat, takes *kitišda* as a Neo-Elamite form of the verb *kutu-*, “to protect, preserve,” which is amply attested in Middle-Elamite. Note that *nupikti* could, in theory, be read as *nu* (“you”) *pikti* (“help,” frequent in royal Achaemenid-Elamite as equivalent to Old-Persian *upašta-*), but this does not seem to be supported by the syntax of the inscription. “Huban” obviously represents a shortened form of a personal name.

149. Vallat lists Akši-marti, Pirri, Umba-dudu, Unsak and Ampiriš/Umpiriš. He convincingly connects the broken name ^{BE}*un-zí*[...] (S 94, rev. 8) with the Unzi-kilik of Kal. 3; no other Elamite names starting with *unzi-* are known. As for Ampiriš, the name Amperira (S 138, 6) may be relevant as well.

150. See e.g. S 135, 2 ^{BE}*la-li-in-taš-pè-ra* (“he of the Lalintaš-people”) and S 134, rev. 1 ^{BE}*la-li-in-taš-pè-ip-pa* (“those of the L.-people”). On these groups see also Vallat 1992b.

151. An additional argument is the occurrence of the divine names Šati and DIL.BAT. Both gods only appear in Neo-Elamite texts (Vallat 1996b; Waters 2000, 40 fn. 55). In the Kalmākarra inscriptions Šati appears in a personal name (Kal. 10) and DIL.BAT in the title *la-ar* ^{DINGIR}*DIL.BAT-na*, which Vallat (2000b, 1069f.) has now shown to mean “clergé de DIL.BAT” (refuting the earlier explanation by Lambert *loc. cit.*). The title occurs in a longer (votive?) inscription that is referred to by Lambert (in Mahboubian 1995, 31) but not transliterated or translated.

Inscr.	Translation	Object (and references)
Kal. 1a	Ampiriš, king of Samati, son of Dabala.	– egg-lobed bowl (Baššāš-Kanzaq 2000, A²) – vase (<i>idem</i>, D²) – bowl (<i>idem</i>, F²) – egg-lobed bowl (<i>idem</i>, I) – egg-lobed vase (<i>idem</i>, K) – egg-lobed bowl (<i>idem</i>, L) – bowl (<i>idem</i>, M) – vase (<i>idem</i>, N) – bowl (<i>idem</i>, O) – ca. 5 unpubl. objects (Khorram-Ābād) – carinated bowl (Donbaz 1996) – lion(?)–headed rhyton (<i>idem</i>) – “Assurbanipal beaker” (Bleibtreu 1999a, c) – rhyton with ibex protome (<i>idem</i> 1999c) – conical beaker (Caubet 1995) – unidentified (Mahboubian 1995: 31 “a”) – rhyton (seen in New York, 1993) – bowl with bull protome (<i>idem</i>, 1992) – lion-headed rhyton (<i>idem</i>; incomplete)
Kal. 1b	King Ampiriš of Samati, son of Dabala.	– egg-lobed vase (Baššāš-Kanzaq 2000, H)
Kal. 1c	Ampiriš, son of Dabala.	– deep bowl (Baššāš-Kanzaq 2000, C²) – beaker with deer heads (private U.S. collection) – vase (London, antiquities dealer)
Kal. 2	Anni-šilhak, king of Samati, son of Dabala.	– unidentified (Mahboubian 1995: 31 “c”) conical beaker (Christie’s, 04-VI-’99, no. 204)
Kal. 3	Unzi-kilik, king of Samati (lit. Samatian king), son of Ampiriš, not-he had wished/selected <i>pinna</i> , he-wanting <i>pinna</i> [as?] possession.	– vase (Baššāš-Kanzaq 2000, G²) – vase (<i>idem</i>, J) – part of a rhyton (<i>idem</i> F¹) – unidentified (Mahboubian 1995: 31 “b”)
Kal. 4	Ahtir, son of king Ampiriš.	– unidentified (Mahboubian 1995: 31 “d”)
Kal. 5	Untaš, son of Huban, the ... of Ampiriš.	– unidentified (Mahboubian 1995: 31 “e”); bowl (Demange 1995)
Kal. 6	Unsak, king of Samati (lit. Samatian king), son of Kidin-tiyaš.	– egg-lobed bowl (Baššāš-Kanzaq 2000, B²) – unidentified (Mahboubian 1995: 31 “f”)
Kal. 7	Unsak, general (?), son of Umba-dudu.	– unidentified (Mahboubian 1995: 32 “l”)
Kal. 8	Turhakra, son of Pirri.	– unidentified (Mahboubian 1995: 32 “g”)
Kal. 9	Atta-sapir, son of Sapparak.	– lion-headed rhyton (Baššāš-Kanzaq 2000, E²) – part of a rhyton (<i>idem</i>, E¹) – unidentified (Mahboubian 1995: 32 “h”) plate (Sotheby’s, 17-XII-’96, no. 165)
Kal. 10	Šati-kutur, son of Akši-marti.	– unidentified (Mahboubian 1995: 32 “i”)
Kal. 11	Ašpe, son of Hunzak.	– unidentified (Mahboubian 1995: 32 “j”)
Kal. 12	Indapipi, son of Pir[...].	– unidentified (Mahboubian 1995: 32 “k”)
Kal. 13	Simima, son of Apuliti.	– unidentified (Mahboubian 1995: 32 “m”)
Kal. 14	Lalintaš, son of Ibutukaš.	– ram-headed rhyton (Vallat 2000a = Blondeel-Deroyan 19-XI-’99/18-XII-’99)
Kal. 15	Manaka[...]–untaš, son of Huban, has poured out/protected as the <i>nukipti</i> for/of Ampiriš.	– silver vase (London, antiquities dealer)

Table 2. Inscriptions on “Kalmākarra objects.”

appear to be Iranian, including Ampiriš.¹⁵² Interestingly, Anni-šilhak (Kal. 2) and Unzi-kilik (Kal. 3), the brother and son of Ampiriš, evidently carry Elamite names. Thus we find both Iranian and Elamite names within the same ruling dynasty.

If the “Kalmākarra objects” were indeed found in the Kalmākarra cave in southern Lorestān, and if the kingdom (or chiefdom) of Samati is to be situated in this region, then the hoard obviously attests to acculturation between Elamites and Iranians living north of Elam. Not surprisingly, the hoard has already been connected with the Medes. Admittedly, this idea has not been expressed in any authoritative publication, but it may be useful to invalidate it before it enters any serious debate. Lambert (in Mahboubian 1995, 31) noticed that the genitive suffix *-na* is sometimes missing where needed, which meant to him that the inscriptions were from “an area where Elamite was not the spoken language, but perhaps Median was.” In fact, the genitive suffix is not needed at the relevant places and, more important, the argument fails to recognize the Elamite character of the majority of the personal names.¹⁵³ Moreover, the few Iranian names within the corpus cannot be proven to be Median.¹⁵⁴ As stated above, the objects themselves show a number of stylistic features that herald Achaemenid art. But in

152. *Ampiriš* (Kal. 1, 3-5) can be compared (as Donbaz 1996 suggested) to *Ampiriya*, who occurs in PF 830, and whose name is accepted as Iranian by Mayrhofer (1973, 124) and Hinz (1975, 113; *contra*: Tavernier 2002, 749). Incidentally, the *Ampiriya* of PF 830 is introduced as a *kafukaparra* (Old-Persian **gāthukabara-*, “Stuhlträger”: see Hinz 1973, 95), undoubtedly a high-ranking court official. *Dabala* (1-2) may be a variant to *Dabara* (e.g. PF 1731; compare *Dabarizza* in PF-NN 1413) which is taken to be Iranian by Mayrhofer (1973, 145) and Hinz (1975, 234). The r/l variation is not exceptional in Elamite-Iranian context (cf. e.g. *Turmiriyap/Turmilap* in the PF texts; compare Mayrhofer 1973, 301 for r/l variation in various PNs). Lambert read *Zittiyaš* in Kal. 6 and claimed this name to be “Median,” comparing it with such names as *Zitrantakma* and *Zitrabirzana* (which according to Hinz 1975, 74f. contain “Median” **čithra-*). It was argued above (fn. 146) that the reading *gi-ut-ti-ia-āš* is preferable and in any case *Zittiyaš* would not have belonged to the **čithra-* group. On the other hand, the element *-(i)yaš* may represent the Iranian *-(i)ya* suffix (compare e.g. *Pištiya* PF-NN 1528, *Hisatiya* PF 1039; see Mayrhofer 1973, 59). The final *-š* is a not uncommon Elamite addition to Iranian nouns and names (Haddock 1969, 9f.; but cf. above fn. 90); we may compare Elam. *Yautiyaš* = OP *Yutiyā* (DB III §40). As for *gi-ut-ti-*, one may think of Old Persian **giti-* (“song”) as in Neo-Elamite ^{DIS}*ki-ti-ik-ka*, and Achaemenid-Elamite ^{HAL}*ki-ti-ik-ka*₄ (S 307, 12; PF-NN 339, 4; see Zadok 1984b, 388). *Apuliti* (Kal. 13) has a parallel in *Abuliti* (EKI 74, 8, 11, 14 and BM 136845, 7 and rev. 2; see Walker 1980, 79 and EIW s.v.). Possibly the name is identical to that of Ἀβουλίτης, a “Persian” who was re-installed as satrap of Susiana by Alexander (Arr., III, 16, 9; cf. König 1965, 150 fn. 6) and whose name seems to be Akkadian (so Briant 1996, 744f.). Compare also the Ἀβουλίτης who occurs in Ctesias, FGrH 688 F 30.

153. As Vallat (1996b) remarked, *Samatirra* has the common Neo-Elamite adjective suffix *-r(a)* and EŠŠANA *Samatirra* is a normal phrase for expressing “Samatian king.” But even if the genitive suffix *-na* would be absent were needed, this would *not* indicate that the people who wrote the inscriptions spoke Iranian. For if they did, one would rather expect an abundant use of the *-na* suffix, the function of which corresponds closely to the Iranian genitive. In fact, the suffix is believed to have developed under Iranian influence (Reiner 1960). The simultaneous use of the older adjective suffix *-r(a)* (that has antecedents in Middle-Elamite) and the genitive suffix *-na* links the Kalmākarra inscriptions to the Acropole texts where both constructions occur side by side as well. There is no reason to assume that Samatian Elamite was “bad Elamite,” as Lambert seems to imply.

154. Mahboubian’s catalogue curiously introduces each inscribed object as having “a Median inscription” that is “set in Neo-Elamite, cuneiform logograms.” This suggests that the language betrays a “Median” influence, but this is certainly not the case. None of the possibly Iranian names in the Kalmākarra corpus has specifically “Median” characteristics. That the author speaks of “the names of the Median kings” (1995: 18) can only be qualified as absurd. On the problems of identifying “Median” words and names see above fn. 111.

the absence of a clear picture of “Median art” it would be rash to label them “Median.”¹⁵⁵ This leaves only the (implicit) geographical argument that anything north of Khūzestān must have been under Median influence. Yet, if Samati was the area around Kalmākarra cave, then this entity must be situated in the border area of Elam and Ellipi (cf. Medvedskaya 1999, 65f.). As we have seen (see above II.1), there is no proof that “Medes” eventually took control over the Ellipian territory, certainly not beyond Khorram-Ābād.

The location of Samati in southern Lorestān does not allow for a direct connection with Media, but it certainly does explain the mixed Elamite-Iranian nature of the hoard. As we have seen, the Ellipian territory is likely to have been a playing field where Elamite and Iranian influences met (see above II.1). Interestingly, one of the area’s Iron Age III sites, Čigā Sabz, lies only *ca.* 18 km northwest of Kalmākarra. During Iron III this site was used as a campsite and as a place for “the burial (?) of treasured objects before approaching danger (?)” (Schmidt - Van Loon - Curvers 1989, 26). In the latter context two Neo Elamite seals (CS 272 and 421) were found that belong to a stage of Neo-Elamite glyptic in which Iranian influences become apparent.¹⁵⁶ It seems likely that the “Kalmākarra hoard” and the Iron III findings at Čigā Sabz belong to the same culture. The parallels that Kawami (1997) saw between a zoomorphic vessel with two rampant lions (in the Miho Museum; see above) and with cylinder seals found at Sorkh-e Dom and Čigā Sabz fit in this picture.

Kalmākarra lies in the *garmsīr*, the lower and warmer area of the Pīš-e Kūh. The Nūr ‘Alī and the Mīrbegī tribes use the Rūmīšgān area, in which Kalmākarra cave is located, as their winter pasture (cf. Goff 1968, 109). The nearest hamlet to Kalmākarra cave, Darbākh, is in fact a tribal winter residence (Qazanfarī - Farzīn 1376, 13). From the surveys and excavations carried out in Pīš-e Kūh, we know that in antiquity pastoralism was the dominant strategy, though it probably had more the character of semi-sedentary agro-pastoralism (cf. Briant 1982, 67-81). Because of its *garmsīr* characteristics, the area around Kalmākarra cave was most suitable for winter pasture. Čigā Sabz functioned as a pastoralist camp in the Iron III period, the same period in which the Kalmākarra objects are dated. “Samati” could very well be the name of a mixed Elamite-Iranian confederacy of pastoralist or agro-pastoralist tribes either in the southern Rūmīšgān district or in the Saimarreh valley. They were headed by a dynasty of chieftains who had assumed the title “Samatian king” (cf. the “inhabitants of Samati” in S 94). It would not be surprising if the Samatians were somehow related to the Kossaii, the tribes that inhabited the same region (southern Lorestān) at the time of Alexander the Great (and at least part of the preceding Achaemenid period; Briant 1982, 67-69; Potts 1999, 373-375). Unfortunately, the present state of our knowledge does not allow for more concrete suggestions on the relation between Kossaii and Samatians. It is interesting to notice, however, that the many caves in the mountains of southern Lorestān were known to be used by the Kossaii in the face of approaching danger (see Briant *loc. cit.*).¹⁵⁷ Kalmākarra cave may have been used in a similar way: short period occupation and temporary storage of valuable goods.

155. Cf. Donbaz’ (1996) title “A median (?) votive inscription on silver vessel” or the subtitle used by Mahboubian (1995) “The Art of the Medes.” Note that the rhyton in the Blondeel-Deroyan catalogue (subsequently published by Vallat 2000a) also refers to the “époque de l’Empire Mède (900-550 av. J.-C.)” while at the same time it fails to mention that the inscription is in Elamite, an approach curiously similar to the one adopted by Lambert/Mahboubian. On “Median art” see esp. Muscarella 1987 and Calmeyer 1990b.

156. The seals are published by Van Loon 1988. On the Elamite-Iranian glyptic style see above fn. 32. CS 272 has a Neo-Elamite inscription reading ^{DIŠ.DINGIR} *hu-ban-úk²-ka₄*, “Huban-ukka.” Vallat (1992a) dated the inscription to 605-539 BC.

157. The use of caves by pastoralists in Lorestān is already known from the late Chalcolithic period; see Henrickson 1985, 29f.

It hardly needs to be emphasized that several important questions remain unanswered. The inscriptions that have become known thus far suggest at least four different kings: Ampiriš and his brother Anni-šilhak (sons of Dabala, Kal. 1a-b, 2), Unzi-kilik (son of Ampiriš, Kal. 3)¹⁵⁸ and the apparently unrelated Unsak, son of Gittiyaš (Kal. 6). Ampiriš also appears in an inscription (Kal. 1c) where he is not identified as “king of Samati,” but that does not necessarily mean that he was still prince at the time.¹⁵⁹ An estimate of at least forty or fifty years for the total period covered by these four rulers does not seem unreasonable. A stylistic development is not very conspicuous at first sight, though there are differences. A detailed study of the inscriptions could perhaps establish a relative chronology.

Another problem is the function of the inscriptions: one would be inclined to compare the Kalmākarra inscriptions to the well-known Achaemenid inscriptions on silver *phialai* and other vessels. The idea that these vessels were intended as prestigious gifts has recently been challenged by Gunter and Root (1998, 27f.), who suggested the inscribed *phialai* (as opposed to the uninscribed ones) constituted “the inalienable possession of the king himself” and were kept outside the dynamic of gift exchange. Similarly, we could take the royal inscriptions on the “Kalmākarra objects” (1-3, 6) as indications of ownership. Kal. 3 indeed has the word *araš*, “possession,” but the context is obscure. On the other hand, there are also nine “Kalmākarra objects” with inscriptions (Kal. 5, 7-14) naming seemingly non-royal individuals. As such these non-royal inscriptions are not unique, as we know from “Kidin-Hutran son of Kurluš,” written on various objects in the Arġān tomb. But it is intriguing to find several non-royal inscriptions in one hoard. In case the objects were (royal) gifts *to* various private persons, one wonders why they were supposedly found in one place and together with the royal vessels. A second option would be that they were gifts *from* individuals. Regardless of the interpretation chosen, Kal. 15 probably records that Manaka[...]untaš, son of Huban, paid homage to Ampiriš in some way (by pouring a libation or protecting something). If *from* various individuals, one would have to assume a single silversmith or workshop in order to explain the often striking similarities between the various objects. That a number of objects are inscribed with names of seemingly non-royal individuals may be a bit misleading. The inscriptions naming prince Ahtir (Kal. 4), Unsak the “general” (or some other title, Kal. 7) and “Untaš the ... (again a title) of king Ampiriš” (Kal. 5) allow the possibility that the other individuals not named as “king of Samati” all belonged to the king’s immediate entourage of relatives and high-ranking officials (cf. n. 159 above). This leads to the suggestion that the vessels may have been used by various high-ranking individuals and members of the royal family at the royal table or in other court ceremonies. Yet, the variety of inscriptions in combination with the apparent collective storage may be explained otherwise, e.g. by assuming that the hoard represents a collection of votive objects from a sanctuary.¹⁶⁰ The occurrence of a *lar*^{DINGIR} DIL.BAT-na (explained by Vallat as “clergé de DIL.BAT,” see fn. 151 above) seems to point at this direction. At present, the available evi-

158. A second son, Ahtir (Kal. 4) apparently never became king.

159. When he was a prince under the rule of Dabala, one might perhaps have expected “Ampiriš, son of king Dabala” (compare Kal. 4, “Ahtir son of king Ampiriš”). Kal. 1c may be just an abbreviated version of Kal. 1a. If that is correct, however, one should allow for the possibility that the non-royal individuals in various inscriptions (Kal. 5, 7-14) are in fact members of the ruling dynasty as well.

160. A possible candidate would be Sorkh-e Dom, the extensive Iron Age sanctuary (the designation used by the excavator E.F. Schmidt), roughly 30 km northeast of Kalmākarra. Objects excavated at the site indicate close ties with Neo-Elamite material culture (Schmidt - Van Loon - Curvers 1989, *passim*). In the context of the Kalmākarra hoard, Sorkh-e Dom is of particular interest as the shrine may have had economic and administrative functions as well (so Curvers, *ibid.*, 489). Unfortunately, it is uncertain whether the sanctuary of Sorkh-e Dom was still in use in the latest phase of the Neo-Elamite period; it may have been abandoned after ca. 650 BC (thus Van Loon, *ibid.*, 448, 490).

dence does not seem to allow for any definite answers to the questions of the hoard's origin and function.

III Summary: Persians, Medes and Elamites

The materials discussed in the present survey tell the story of a dynamic and manifold Elamite Iranian acculturation. The existence of a viable Elamite post-Assyrian kingdom must have been of considerable importance to this process and it is therefore no surprise that the Acropole texts from Susa bear witness to Elamite-Iranian contacts in this period. One could make a long list of “Elamo-Iranica” in scribal traditions, glyptic art, iconography, religion, titles etc. But, as we have seen, we should try to move beyond a mere enumeration of such continuities and pay due attention to the (sometimes deliberate) transformation of the message conveyed by e.g. the use of glazed wall decorations, the title “king of Anšan” or the Elamite royal garment. Moreover, as Elamite culture itself had to a certain degree become Iranized, in certain cases (e.g. the Neo-Elamite glyptic style in Persepolis) the question of origin tends to become rather academic.

The continuous occupation of several larger settlements throughout the Middle-Elamite, Neo-Elamite and Achaemenid periods rendered the region of Rām Hormoz and Behbahān instrumental to the spread of Elamite culture among the Iranians of Fārs. The mixed inventory of the Arġān tomb confirms the acculturation processes that we would expect to be active in this area. In Fārs itself, where pastoralism based on small villages was dominant, we may tentatively envisage a progressive mixture of Elamite and Iranian groups, possibly or even probably to such a scale that we can speak of a “*éthnogenèse des Perses*.”

A modest version of the Elamite-Iranian acculturation in (western) Fārs, can be assumed for southern Lorestān. Again there are indications of both Elamite and Iranian (cultural) presence in the Ellipian territory. Further south, in the Lorestān-Khūzestān border area, we find larger sites with a long continuous occupation. The objects purportedly found in Kalmākarra cave provide a northern parallel to the Arġān tomb and attest to Elamite-Iranian acculturation and integration. As the scale of these processes is not known, however, we cannot be sure that any “Medes” were involved. Generally the case for Elamite-Median contacts *strictu sensu* can only be corroborated from a few indirect indications. No groups or individuals explicitly labelled as “Medes” occur in the Acropole texts from Susa, which incidentally also renders the idea of a “Median domination” of Elam highly unlikely.

A region not discussed in this survey is the southwestern part of Khūzestān where various Aramaic tribes lived and where Elamite-Aramaic acculturation is demonstrable.¹⁶¹ Thus Elamites were effectively enclosed by non-Elamite pastoralist or semi-pastoralist populations. We are only beginning to understand the mechanisms that ruled the relations between the Elamite state and these groups, but it is clear that military confrontation was *not* the dominant strategy and the newcomers seem to have welcomed the fruits of Elamite culture. Conversely, the changing human landscape opened new horizons for the Elamites as well. For the confirmed elamologist the end of Elam may be “*ein langer, schmerz-*

161. A few examples may serve to demonstrate the case. The Elamite king Tammaritu II was related to an Aramaic tribe (Waters 2000, 64; cf. 77 fn. 48). King Huban-haltāš II gave his protégé Nabū-ušallim control over various tribes in the Sealand (*ibid.*, 38). The city of Avva in the western Susiana was probably Aramaic, but its inhabitants worshiped Elamite deities and some had hybrid Aramaic-Elamite names (Potts 1999, 302). Sometime in the 640s Bēl-ibni reported to Assurbanipal that he captured 1500 heads of cattle, apparently on pasture in the same area, from the king of Elam and the sheikh of the Pillatu tribe (ABL 520, see De Vaan 1995, 265-269). See on the subject in general Brinkman 1986.

hafter Vorhang” (Hinz 1987, 125), but such a nostalgic perspective does fail to recognize the great dynamic of the Neo-Elamite period, the manifold cross-fertilization that, eventually, gave rise to the Achaemenid Empire.

Appendix: the σάραπις in Greek sources

1) As we have seen, the supposed forms of the word *sarapis* are rather problematic in the Elamite sources. Greek sources are not very helpful regarding its origin. Moreover, the textual evidence for the form σάραπις is rather slim.¹⁶² The most relevant testimony on σάραπις is provided by Hesychius, who quotes Ctesias:¹⁶³

σάραπις· Περσικὸς χιτῶν μεσόλευκος, ὡς Κτησίας· «καὶ διαρρηξαμένη τὸν σάραπιν καὶ τὰς τρίχας καθειμένη ἐτίλλετό τε καὶ βοὴν ἐποίει». καλεῖται δὲ καὶ ὁ Πλούτων οὕτως.

sarapis: a Persian whitish tunic; as in Ctesias: “and having torn her *sarapis*, she loosened and pulled her hair out and uttered a scream.” Pluto is also called by this name.

The short lemma in Photius’ *Lexicon* is probably dependent on Hesychius.¹⁶⁴ The description in Pollux’ *Onomasticon* again is similar, but more precise: “the dress of the Medes, a purple, whitish tunic” (or: “purple, middled with white”).¹⁶⁵ There is no reason to suppose that Pollux used a different source, as the word μεσόλευκος is rare in Greek.¹⁶⁶ In fact, the lemma in Pollux may have retained the original phrasing as πορφυροῦς μεσόλευκος seems to make more sense than the isolated μεσόλευκος in Hesychius (and Photius). It is interesting that Xenophon, who also mentions a χιτῶνα πορφυροῦν μεσόλευκον (*Cyr.* VIII, 3, 13, referring to Cyrus’ royal garment; see Gow 1928, 146 on the passage), does *not* call it σάραπις. The use of this testimony in later descriptions is unclear. Perhaps the lexicographers combined the statements of Xenophon and Ctesias. This seems more likely than that Ctesias himself had already incorporated Xenophon’s description. But in either case the use of the word σάραπις seems to have been introduced in Greek by Ctesias.

The fourth ancient writer commenting on the σάραπις is a certain Democritus of Ephesus who wrote a treatise “On the sanctuary in Ephesus,” probably sometime in the third century BC:¹⁶⁷

162. Note that word is not discussed in the etymological dictionaries of Chantraine and Frisk, nor by Furnée (1972).

163. Hesychius, *Lexicon* s.v. σάραπις (ed. Schmidt 1861) = Ctesias FGrH 688, F 41.

164. Photius, *Lexicon* s.v. σάραπις (ed. Naber 1864): χιτῶν Περσικὸς μεσόλευκος.

165. Pollux, *Onomasticon*, VII, 61 (ed. Bethe 1967): ὁ δὲ σάραπις, Μήδων τὸ φόρημα, πορφυροῦς μεσόλευκος χιτῶν.

166. This type of word is in itself not rare: compare e.g. LSS s.vv. μεσοπόρφυρος (“mixed or shot with purple”) and μεσόχλωος (“greenish”). But, on the other hand, LSJ mentions only four other places, apart from the passages cited here, for μεσόλευκος. One of these, in Lucian’s *Alexander* (c. 11), tells how Alexander of Abonouteichos is parading in a purple tunic, middled with white. Lucian probably intended a learned pun, implicitly referring to Alexander the Great wearing the robe of the Persian king. As this was widely seen as an indication of the Macedonian’s moral decay, it helped Lucian to underline the preposterous nature of his Alexander (of Abonouteichos).

167. Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*, XII, 29 (525c-e) = Democritus of Ephesus, FGrH 267 F 1; English translation by Ch.B. Gulick (Loeb).

καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν Ἐφεσίων Δημόκριτος <ὁ> Ἐφέσιος ἐν τῷ προτέρῳ Περὶ τοῦ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ναοῦ διηροῦμενος περὶ τῆς ξλιδῆς αὐτῶν καὶ ὧν ἐφόρουν βαπτῶν ἱματίων γράφει καὶ τάδε· «τὰ δὲ τῶν Ἰόνων ἰοβαφὴ καὶ πορφυρὰ καὶ κρόνικα ρόμβοις ὑφαντά, αἱ δὲ κεφαλαὶ κατ' ἴσα διειλημμένοι ζῳοίς, καὶ σαράπαις μήλινοι καὶ πορφυροὶ καὶ λευκοί, οἱ δὲ ἀλουργεῖς, καὶ καλασίρεις Κορινθιουργεῖς· [...] ὑπάρχουσιν δὲ καὶ Περσικαὶ καλασίρεις, αἵπερ εἰσὶ κάλλισται πασῶν. ἴδοι δ' ἄν τις» φησὶν «καὶ τὰς καλουμένας ἀκταίας, ὅπερ ἐστὶ καὶ πολυτελέστατον ἐν τοῖς Περσικοῖς περιβλήμασιν. [...]» τούτοις πᾶσι χρῆσθαι φησι τοὺς Ἐφεσίους ἐπιδόντας εἰς τρυφέν.

With reference to the Ephesians themselves Democritus of Ephesus, in the first of his two books *On the Temple of Ephesus*, tells the story of their luxury and of the dyed garments which they wore, writing as follows: “The garments of the Ionians are violet-dyed, and crimson, and yellow, woven in a lozenge pattern; but the top borders are marked at equal intervals with animal patterns. Then there are robes called *sarapeis* dyed with quince-yellow, crimson, and white, others again with sea-purple. And long robes (*kalasireis*) of Corinthian manufacture, [...]. There are also Persian *kalasireis*, which are the finest of all. One might also see,” Democritus goes on, “the so called *aktaiai*, and this is in fact the most costly among Persian wraps.” [...] All these, he says, are used by the Ephesians in their devotion to luxury.

It should be stressed that the *σαράπαις* in Democritus testimony are *not* marked as Persian, in contrast to the *καλασίρεις* and the *ἀκταίαι* that are mentioned subsequently. Apart from that, there is no doubt that Democritus primarily wanted to focus on the *luxury* of the Ionians.¹⁶⁸ His list of fanciful garments with outlandish names and extravagant colours merely serves to support his case. The usefulness of the passage as to the nature and use of the *σάραπις* is therefore limited. In fact, Democritus may have found the word *σάραπις* in Ctesias as well.

2) Reviewing the ancient testimonies on the *σάραπις*, I think that one should at least allow the possibility that they all depend on a single source. This possibility is especially relevant with regard to a *varia lectio* in one of the main manuscripts of Pollux that has *σαράγης* instead of *σάραπις*.¹⁶⁹ Nowadays this lecture is invariably rejected with reference to both Hesychius (and Photius) and of the Elamite evidence (see above II.2.4). Yet, in my opinion the lecture *σαράγης* should be taken more seriously. The main reason behind this standpoint is found in the lemmata on *σάρητον* in Hesychius (ὁ *σάραπις*, [καὶ] εἶδος χιτῶνος) and Photius (βαρβαρικὸς χιτῶν). To these forms *σαλητόν* in Hesychius should be added:

σαλητόν· Σοφοκλῆς Ἀνδρομέδα ἄντι σαράπιδος ἢ βαρβαρικὸν χιτῶνα. οἱ δὲ καὶ μεσόλευκον αὐτὸν εἶναι φασι.¹⁷⁰

168. Note also the context of the citation in the *Deipnosophistae*: a collection of anecdotes on the outlandish customs of the Ionians, in particular their indulgence in luxury. See also Briant 1996, 721.

169. The reading is found in manuscript A, i.e. Parisinus Graec. 2670, described as a very precise text by the editor (Bethe 1967).

170. The manuscripts have ἄντι πατρός (instead of ἄντι σαράπιδος), which causes a crux in the lemma. Possible conjectures are Ἀντίπατρος (Sorberius; accepted in the text of Schmidt 1861) and ἄντι σαράπιδος (Soping). The first is obviously an elegant solution, but there is no external evidence to support the idea that one of the poets known as Antipatros wrote about the *σαλητόν*. On the other hand, the undeniably related lemma on *σάρητον*, also in Hesychius, does indeed mention the *σάραπις*. Moreover, the use of *μεσόλευκον* lends additional support to Soping's conjecture. I cannot find any convincing argument against ἄντι σαράπιδος: it should certainly be preferred.

σαλητόν: Sophocles in the *Andromeda* instead of σάραπις i.e. a foreign tunic. Some hold it to be whitish.

It is most likely that σάρητον/σαλητόν represents the same word.¹⁷¹ Both forms are explicitly compared to the σάραπις and the description as “whitish” or “middled with white” in Hesychius (s.v. σαλητόν) adds to this connection. Now, it is not really conceivable that σάρητον/σαλητόν is just an ancient corruption for σάραπις; in the Hesychius lemmata mentioned above we are obviously dealing with two separate words. On the other hand, the *varia lectio* σαράγης in Pollux may derive from the same word as σάρητον/σαλητόν. This possibility is supported by the closeness of Γ and Τ (in majuscule script): we may think of an original form *σαλ/ρηγον for σάρητον/σαλητόν. Finally, a third related form may be found in σάραξ (σαρακ-), mentioned in *De Magistribus* by Ioannes Lydus (I, 12) and described as a long garment extending from the shoulders to the ankles.¹⁷² It is well-known that loanwords often show variations, especially in the ending. My suggestion is that σαράγης, σάρητον/σαλητόν (*σαλ/ρηγον?) and σάραξ are variations of the same loanword (*sal/rāg-?).¹⁷³ In this context the variation of σάρητον/σαλητόν may be of interest. One wonders what caused this variation: a corruption in the Greek text or a r/l variation in the original, probably an Iranian or Elamite word. I think the Iranian/Elamite background is the preferable solution and this in turn suggests that σάρητον/σαλητόν is not just a strange corruption for σάραπις, but a genuine loanword.¹⁷⁴

As we have seen, the σάρητον/σαλητόν was, if we may rely on Hesychius, used by Sophocles and thus predates the first identifiable source for σάραπις, i.e. Ctesias. If my suggestion that σαράγης, σάρητον/σαλητόν (*σαλ/ρηγον?) and σάραξ are related forms of the same loanword, this earlier attestation of σάρητον/σαλητόν seems to support the hypothesis brought forward by Reland in 1707. This scholar defended the *lectio difficilior* σαράγης in Pollux and explained σάραπις as an ancient

171. Both Liddell - Scott - Jones 1996 and the editor of the Sophocles fragments take σάρητον as the original form (but see below). The latter has σάρητον as F 135 (TrGF IV, ed. Radt 1977). See also Tuplin 1996a, 135.

172. σάρακας δὲ ἐπ’ εἰρήνης θηρείους ἐξ ὤμων ἄνωθεν ἕως κνημῶν ἐξηρημένους περιετίθεντο (ed. Wünsche 1903). The garment is described as part of the Roman military dress, but the precise historical implications are unclear as the σάραξ is mentioned nowhere else (except as a synonym to Lat. *tinea* “worm” (!); see Liddell - Scott - Jones 1996 s.v.).

173. The ending -ης in the form σαράγης is relatively rare, but it occurs in various other loanwords, such as λέβης and τέπης. The latter also occurs as τάπις and δάπις. Perhaps σαραχήρω (Hesychius: σαραχήρω παρὰ Βηρώσῳ ἢ κοσμήτρια τῆς Ἥρας = Berossus, FGrH, 680 F 16) also belongs to the series σαράγης, σάρητον/σαλητόν (*σαλ/ρηγον?) and σάραξ. Dossin’s attempt (1971) to explain the word as Sumerian (*sar(a)* + *gir/ger*, “écriture du ciel”) rests on very limited evidence; the interpretation of ἢ κοσμήτρια as “la décoration” is almost certainly incorrect. The obvious interpretation for ἢ κοσμήτρια would be “ornatrix” and this suggests that σαραχήρω may be the occupational designation for the person dressing the statue of a goddess. If so, the word may indeed be related to σαράγης etc., even though this leaves the ending -ήρω unexplained (for γ/χ alteration in loanwords compare γωρυτός and χωρυτός, “bow-and-arrow case”).

174. I have refrained from including Greek σαράβαρα (“trousers”) in our discussion, as it would only have made it more complex. This loanword from Iranian has a variant form σαράβαλλα and thus provides a good parallel for σάρητον/σαλητόν. Greek σαράβαρα (with its Iranian origin) is extensively discussed by Knauer (1954). A relation with *sarapis* in both the Greek and Elamite sources seems possible at first sight, but has yet to be investigated. For the r/l variation, see Mayrhofer 1973, 301 and cf. above fn. 152.

corruption that occurred under influence of the name of the well-known Egyptian god Sarapis (indeed referred to in Hesychius' lemma!).¹⁷⁵

If it were not for the Elamite evidence, one would certainly be inclined to follow Reland's idea. As we have seen the Elamite evidence itself is unclear and problematic, but I would not go as far as denying that it supports Σάραπις. However, the case of Σαράγης, Σάρητον/Σαλητόν (*σαλ/ρηγον?) and Σάραξ is not solved by the Elamite material. Moreover, we are still confronted with the fact that the evidence for Σάραπις in Greek is rather slim and may depend on Ctesias solely. I admit that the evidence for a different form (based on *sal/rāg-?) is not unproblematic either, but the existence of such a form, that seems to have been the older form in Greek, cannot be denied easily. It should at least be conceded that the relation between the Greek and Elamite evidence is hardly as straightforward as it is usually presented.

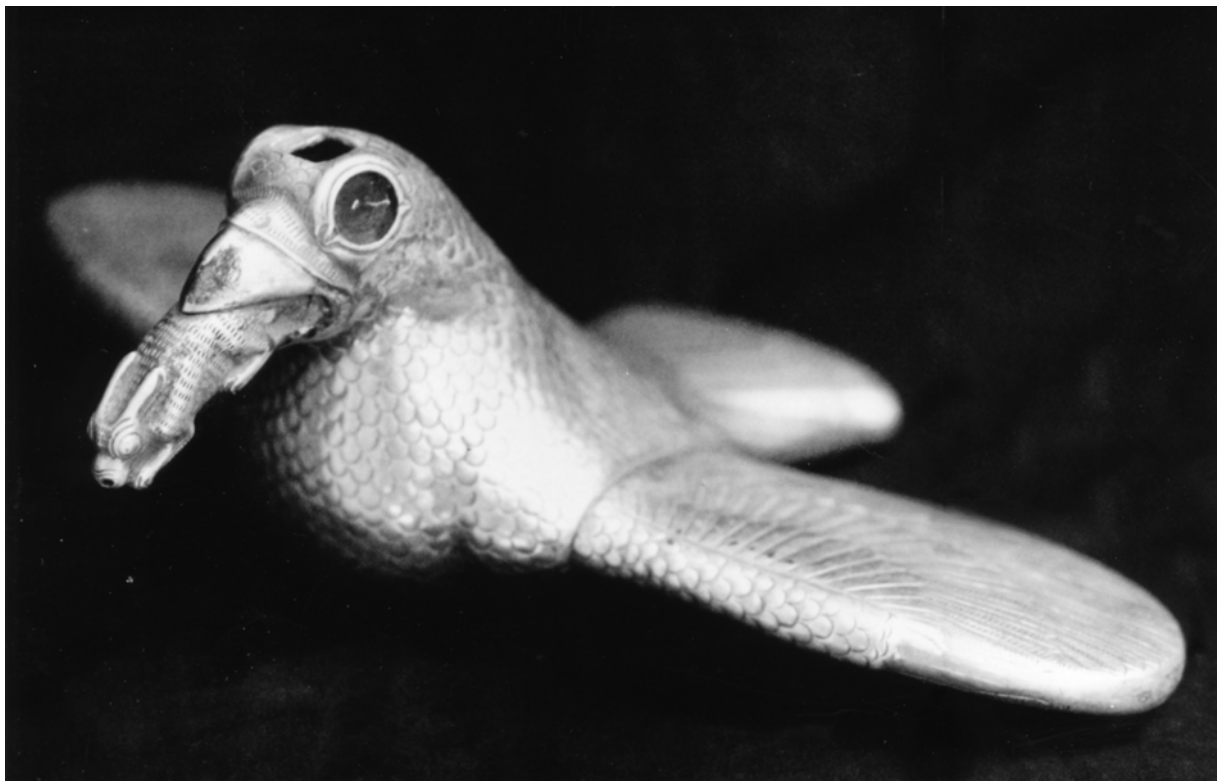
175. Reland 1707, 231, "Factum autem est Σάραπις ex Σαράγης facillime, si attendamus veteres Graecos π & γ figura fere eadem exarasse [...], & formasse id nomen ad notissimam Dii Aegyptii appellationem Σάραπις." Reland's theory was not mentioned, as far as I can see, beyond Lion's edition of Ctesias (1823, 157 note q). Reland is obviously right in formulating as a general principle that especially in the case of loanwords the less frequent form deserves attention ("voces barbarae saepe a maxima scriptorum parte mendose proferantur, & nonnumquam apud unum alterumve recte extent").



Compound zoomorphic vessel: lion attacking a bull (height 165 mm; length:242 mm).
Ex-collection Mahboubian London, now in the Miho Museum (Japan).
Photograph: G. Wilkinson in Mahboubian 1995, 60f.



Lion-headed rhyton with a bull standing on the lion's head (detail).
Found in Kalmākarra Cave (Falak ol-Aflāk Museum, Khorram-Ābād).
Photograph: Ali-Reza Farzīn, from an undated brochure entitled *Lorestān*.



Compound zoomorphic pouring vessel: a bird of prey (eagle?) catching a hare.
Found in Kalmākarra Cave (Falak ol-Aflāk Museum, Khorram-Ābād).
Photograph: Ali-Reza Farzīn in Qazanfarī - Farzīn 1376, 38f.



Ibex.

Found in Kalmākarra Cave (Falak ol-Aflāk Museum, Khorram-Ābād).
Photograph: Ali-Reza Farzīn in Qazanfarī - Farzīn 1376, 67.



a.

Compound zoomorphic vessel: lion attacking a deer.

Found in Kalmākarra Cave (Falak ol-Aflāk Museum, Khorram-Ābād)

Photograph: Ali-Reza Farzīn in an ICHO brochure entitled *Lorestān at A Glance*, 1378 [1999], 21.



b.

Small egg-lobed bowl (height: 35 mm, rim diameter: 150 mm) carrying inscription Kal. 2.

Collection Mahboubian (London).

Photograph: G. Wilkinson in Mahboubian 1995, 39.



Plate with hammered egg-lobes and lotus' buds and blossoms
(height 49 mm, rim diameter 303 mm) carrying inscription Kal. 1a
Collection Mahboubian (London).
Photograph: G. Wilkinson in Mahboubian 1995, 48.

PLATE 12



Lion-headed rhyton (rim diameter 145 mm) with unidentified inscription running on the inner rim.
Collection Mahboubian (London).

Photograph: G. Wilkinson in Mahboubian 1995, 56f.